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AN
INQUIRY
INTO THE
CONDUCT of LORD PIGOT, *K*
FROM HIS
ARRIVAL at FORT ST. GEORGE,
TO HIS
EXPEDITION to TANJORE.
WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON
The DEFENCE of LORD PIGOT;
AND ON
The RESTORATION of the KING of TANJORE,
CONSIDERED.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR.
MDCCLXXVIII.

THE HISTORY OF

IN TWO VOLUMES

CONDUCT OF LORD RIGBY

IN HIS OFFICE AS LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH

BY JAMES H. ST. GEORGE

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE HISTORY OF

THE DEFEAT OF LORD RIGBY
AND THE OBTAINING OF THE
RESTORATION OF THE KING OF
ENGLAND

PRINTED IN THE YEAR

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W H A T E V E R might be the virtues of Lord Pigot
 I T may not be improper to apprise the Reader, that
 the following Sheets were printed off before the Ac-
 counts of Lord Pigot's death arrived in England. The
 Author, sensible of the respect that is due to sentiments
 Prejudices, wished to avoid the imputation of *disturbing*
the ashes of the Dead, as far as he possibly could venture
 to indulge that wish, consistent with the respect and
 justice which is due to the Living;—and it is, therefore,
 that he has suppressed many Pages which otherwise would
 have supplied the *chasm*, if any should appear, near the
 Conclusion of this Treatise.

I T should be observed that the following Investiga-
 tion, and the Observations which succeed, do not in the
 least affect the reputation of Lord Pigot prior to his
 adopting, from supposed inducements of self-interest,
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 neral

P R E F A C E.

neral conduct in the private and domestic relations of life, had justly acquired him a character of some *Eclat*; but this cannot, in the order of things, atone for the violent and despotic Measures of his late Administration.

W H A T E V E R might be the virtues of Lord Pigot, which the Author seeks not to depreciate, it cannot be denied that an inordinate love of wealth and power was his ruling infirmity.—Yet, if there be any Partizan of his Lordship, who, abusing his confidence, and taking advantage of the warmth of his temper, instigated or encouraged those Unconstitutional measures, which indispensibly occasioned his Suspension, it were devoutly to be wished, that the Public censure and indignation due to those measures, instead of branding his Lordship's Memory, might be transferred to his evil Adviser.

It should be observed that the following investigation, and the Observations which preceded, do not in the least affect the reputation of Lord Pigot prior to his adopting from supposed inducements of self-interest, the impolitic and ruinous Measure of depriving the Nobles of the Tanjore Country. His former useful and spirited Government at Madras, and his general

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CONDUCT OF LORD PIGOT, &c.

THE number of voluminous Publications on the subject of the present alarming state of the affairs of the East-India Company on the coast of Coromandel, occasioned by the Restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore,—and on the contentions which followed thereupon at Madrafs, between the Governor and Council of Fort St. George,—though they have been incredibly expensive to the Proprietors, have, I believe, in general, met with the common fate of almost all Controversial writings, and have been but little or very cursorily read: And those whose immediate interests in these disputes, or whose eager curiosity, have furnished them with patience to toil through such an enormous length of heavy pages, have, I fear, reaped little else but

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disappointment

disappointment and disgust from their laborious attentions.—I speak not of the Partisans of Lord Pigot, or those of the Majority of the Council by whom he was suspended: People who are attached to either side by the ties of blood, of friendship, of faction, or by the stronger bands of self-interest, attend but very little to any arguments which make against their own party; and their attachments are always too firm to yield even to the strongest efforts of truth and reason.

THESE considerations, it may be urged, go a great way towards evincing the inutility of the present Essay, and might very well have prevented the publication of it. The truth is, great part of the following sheets were written many months since, and would have been reserved in Manuscript, merely for the perusal and information of a few friends, had they not in a manner been called to the Press for more general consideration, by the assumed triumphs of the two doughty Champions, who last entered the lists in this wide and ample field of literary warfare: One of these, by dint of four hundred large compact quarto-pages, replete with a *show* of the most brilliant oratory, the most playful and poignant wit, and the most cunning and profound casuistry, has proved (if his own word may be taken for it) beyond a possibility of gain-saying or doubt; “ That the Company having, to attain the ends which they
“ proposed in sending out Lord Pigot, suggested such means as
“ appeared to them most likely to be effectual, and those means
“ being contained in plain, unconditional, and positive Orders,
“ (from which it was impossible for him to deviate or relax,
“ without an absolute breach of them) his Lordship, in the
“ pursuit of these ends, did strictly adhere as well to the spi-
“ rit

" fit as to the letter of those Orders; in the execution of which
 " he pursued the straight line of his duty, and was guilty of
 " no illegal, improper, or unnecessary exertion of power :—
 " But that the Majority of the Council of Madras committed
 " the most wanton and intemperate acts of tyranny and op-
 " pression, in the opposition which they, from time to time,
 " gave to his Lordship's Measures; and finally, in arresting his
 " person, and suspending him from his high office."

THE other Champion, with the appearance of more mo-
 desty and candour, undertakes only to consider and defend the
 Restoration of the Rajah, as a Measure which the Directors
 were induced to adopt from policy, justice, and respect for the
 public faith of Treaties; and which, a regard to their own ho-
 nour, and to the trust with which they were invested, com-
 pelled them to vindicate from the misrepresentations of the
 Agents of the Nabob of Arcot, and the charges of injustice
 which they publicly brought against this measure, and whereon
 they grounded their open solicitations for a Reversal thereof.

THESE two extraordinary Writers have affected to carry every
 thing before them with a high and resistless hand; the for-
 mer, in his profession as an advocate, has *defended* his client, accor-
 ding to the too general practice of the bar, by substituting daring
 and groundless assertions in the place of facts, and low
 sophistry instead of reasoning; aiming to divert and mislead the
 reader from the true points, to circumstances and things, which
 have little or no relation to the Merits; and to amuse and cap-
 tivate with elaborate bombast language, which he mistakes for
 fine elocution, and with low ribbald buffoonery and bald irony,

which he has imposed on himself, and offers to the Public for wit and satire. The latter, apparently more reserved, though perhaps not less confident in reality, seems to have depended much upon the *Importance of his Station and character*, and therefore gives his performance to the Public under the *sanction of his Name*; not considering that Privilege of Parliament does not extend to him as an Author, and cannot possibly screen his book from the freest strictures of fair criticism.

So much in advance as to these gentlemen; in due time and place they shall have due consideration. For the present it is only necessary, by way of introduction, and as an apology for the succeeding Inquiry, to premise, That after a long and laborious examination of their several performances, and the enormous mass of appendixes to one of them; which labour might perhaps have been less fatiguing, if, as in the case of one of these Writers, it had been sweetened with a retainer from my Lord Pigot; or, if like the other, I had been (as he with so much bashful reserve expresses himself) *requested*, by the Directors, to *undertake the work*;—after this examination, I say, finding no reason to change my sentiments, or alter my opinions, it appeared to me, that the present Publication might, notwithstanding the observations I set out with, be of use, and throw some new lights on a subject of so much importance, (not to certain individuals alone, whose numbers are comparatively few, but) to the nation in general.

I scruple not to avow, that I had for some time given in to the current opinion concerning the Company's Orders, contained in their separate and public Letter to Lord Pigot; till at length,

length, being induced to consider these Letters with more attention, I observed, that although from their tenour, it seems clearly the sense of the Gentlemen who dictated them, that the Rajah of Tanjore should be restored to his dominions, yet that *neither of the Letters contain one positive indispensable Order to that effect*. It was this observation which first gave rise to the following Investigation.

Two Considerations offer, as the probable reasons and motives of so cautious an indecision in the Directors.

FIRST, That however repugnant the capture of Tanjore might be to the sentiments of the Company, or to their other obligations, yet, in strictness, this was a consideration that in no respect ought to affect the Rights of the Nabob. The matter rested between them and their servants. By conquest,—in his own name,—for himself,—aided by the Company's troops as hired auxiliaries,—he acquired possession of Tanjore; and, whatever effectual secret controul the Company may possess over him, yet on no legal ground, nor on any true one, which admits of any decent or political avowal, could they forcibly divest him of this acquisition. Such an act might be deemed hostile to the Nabob, a direct violation of the Treaty of Paris, and a personal affront to the King of Great Britain, whose Ally he is, whose Letters tacitly warranted the capture of Tanjore, and which was in consequence approved and recommended by his Ambassador. Most probably the Gentlemen of the Direction saw things in this point of view; and, however desirous they might be (no matter from what inducements) to restore the Rajah; yet, fearful of the predicament in which the Company might thereby

thereby be involved; they studiously kept clear of any *positive* Order for his Restoration; because that would have been tantamount to an Order for dispossessing the Nabob at all events; whose consent, they were perhaps given to hope, might be obtained; which would bring about their purpose without danger, or possibility of censure on the part of Administration.

THE other Consideration was, that although *Justice to the Rajah of Tanjore* is the motive assigned for restoring him, yet it is evident enough from different parts of their Letters, that the idea of political expediency must have had some weight with the Directors; and that therefore, left circumstances might be found different, from those on which this idea was founded, or that the political state of affairs in the Carnatic, on the arrival of Lord Pigot, might render the measure inexpedient at that time, it was not their intention to bind down the Council by an absolute indispensable Order, but to leave an opening for them to dispense with, or delay the execution of it, as from circumstances might be judged necessary.

FROM the elaborate assiduity employed by Lord Pigot for the purpose of concealment, it was certainly long before any Member of the Council, not in his Lordship's confidence, had any notion of the true nature of these Orders;—and the novelty of these ideas concerning them, may easily startle those, who have not examined the consultations of the Board with sufficient attention and accuracy for the discovery and detection of the

* It should be remembered that this Investigation was written before Lord Pigot's Defence made its appearance.

artifices

artifices of his Lordship on this occasion! Yet, once received, these ideas will serve as a clue to unravel the whole of his Lordship's conduct, as well public as private, previous to his departure for Tanjore; many parts of which must have appeared at the time very mysterious, and can be accounted for on this system, and on this system alone.

LET any man of common sense, and moderate candour, peruse the Company's Letters with due attention;—he will there find indeed frequent and strong indications of their wishes, but, I trust, he will not discover, in any part of their Instructions, *one positive unreserved Order* to dispossess the Nabob, and restore the Rajah;—and the more he considers the tenour and wording of these Instructions, the more obviously will he, I am confident, perceive that such an Order had been very studiously avoided.

THE 4th and 5th Paragraphs of the separate Letter contain the only passages that relate immediately to the point of restoring the Rajah: All the subsequent parts of the Letter are nothing but a recital of those certain terms and conditions between him and the Company, on which the measure was to take place,—some arrangements between him and the Nabob,—and some directions for the future conduct of the Presidency on the event of the Restoration of the Rajah.

THE 4th Paragraph contains a summary of the various reasons for the Directors' disapproval of the capture of Tanjore, explained at large in the general Letter, where that measure is fully canvassed: I shall here give it entire, as a strong circumstance

stance to evince how studiously a positive Order seems to have been avoided.

P.A.R. 4th.—“As the solemn promise made by our Governor and Council, at the request of the Nabob of the Carnatic and the King of Tanjore, to guarantee the Treaty of 1762, has been fully approved by the Court of Directors, we cannot but consider the public faith of the Company as forfeited, and the honour of the British nation deeply affected by the measures taken for dethroning that unhappy Prince, whose Kingdom has been wrested from him by our Servants, and put under the government of Mahomed Ally Khan, in direct violation of that Treaty, and contrary to our repeated Orders and Instructions, which have uniformly and expressly prohibited them from attempting to enlarge our own or the Nabob's dominions; and also, in opposition to the letter and spirit of the Nabob's public declaration to the King of Tanjore's Vakeel, wherein he affirms, that it was not his intention to take the Fort and country of Tanjore to himself, but to secure them for the benefit of the King of Tanjore's family, and to place a proper person of his kindred on the throne*.”

THE 5th Paragraph then proceeds to say, “And having resolved to contribute, *as far as in us lies*, towards the Restoration of the King of Tanjore, which by every tie of honour we conceive ourselves bound to do, we hereby direct”
 —*What?*—After such strong marks of displeasure as have been just expressed against the seizure of the dominions of the King of Tanjore, and such an apparent determination to restore

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 20.

store him, it seems natural to expect that the most positive Order to that purpose would immediately have ensued:—but no such thing. Having brought matters to the very verge of a positive Order, the Directors fly off at once, and content themselves with saying, “*We hereby direct* that you take the most effectual measures, without loss of time, for securing the person of the King of Tanjore, and that you forthwith appoint him a proper guard for his protection, and also for the protection of his family, and inform him that we have determined to replace him on the throne of his ancestors upon certain terms, &c. *without infringing the rights of Mabomed Ally Cawn, Nabob of the Carnatic.*”

If we consider the Gentlemen of the Direction as feeling, in some shape, a personal responsibility for their Orders, it must be acknowledged, that their public and separate Letters relative to the great business of Tanjore bear the strongest marks of their having kept this responsibility in view. Although they have entered minutely into the many objections that occurred to them against aiding the Nabob to obtain possession of Tanjore,—stated the obligations of the Company, which were infringed by this act,—and canvassed some points in dispute between the Nabob and the Rajah,—yet they seem cautiously to have avoided the discussion of the Nabob’s specific Right to retain the possession of his Conquest; which, in the natural course of things, should have been the preliminary step to a resolution for *divesting him*, and restoring the Rajah. Had this Right been in the least questionable, such a sanction to the measure they had in view would certainly not have been disregarded. The true reason of this silence seems to be an apprehension, that the dis-

cussion might have led to a tacit acknowledgment of the Nabob's Right, which might have rendered even the present Instructions (free as they are from one positive Order) an overt act tending to a breach of the treaty of Paris, hostile to our alliance with the Nabob, and a personal affront to the King ;—and, seen in this view, might, besides affording a just pretence to his Ministers for extending the controul of the Legislature over the actions of the Company, have further subjected the Gentlemen, who acceded to this measure, to very disagreeable consequences.

BUT in no part of either of the Letters is this spirit of caution so manifest as in the 5th paragraph of the separate one ; which alone speaks any thing positively respecting the main point of restoring the Rajah. Lord Pigot has often declared, that he was the great cause of this Measure being resolved upon, and has publicly asserted, that the Orders had been submitted to his inspection. I not only believe this, but also give entire credit to the report, that he himself was chiefly concerned in framing this separate Letter ;—for in the wording of this very paragraph, it is easy to discern a conflict between his Lordship's pre-determination to restore the Rajah at all events, and an anxious attention to their personal responsibility in Those, who are to issue the Orders respecting that measure.—In all the subsequent parts of the Letter, the Directors are full, clear and decisive in every point ; more especially so, where they draw the line between the rights of the Rajah, and the possible pretensions of the Nabob. All seem calculated to render the Rajah friendly to the person destined to be the instrument of his Restoration ;—but in the 5th paragraph, which, being the criterion of their intentions, ought most certainly to have been strong, clear

clear and positive to the point in question,—if it was meant to restore the Rajah, without the consent of the Nabob, and without regard to his claims and pretensions,—the Directors seem to have been most particularly reserved, and to have guarded with extreme caution against the possibility of being convicted of such a design: Deeming themselves bound to it by every tie of honour, they declare their resolution to “*to contribute, as far as in them lies, towards the Restoration of the King of Tanjore,*” and direct their servants—*to do what?*—Not to effect this Measure by the exercise of that controuling power, which their situation has given them over the Nabob, as might be expected if it was meant they should do so, but simply *to secure the person of the Rajah and his family, and to inform him, that they have determined to replace him on the Throne of his Ancestors, without infringing the Rights of Mahomed Ally Cawn, Nabob of the Carnatic.** The same caution is observed in the 18th paragraph, where—after having, in case of the death of the present Rajah, directed the next of the Royal line, or some other person of his family, to be placed on the Throne of his Ancestors,—they declare that this Restoration is to be subject to all terms and conditions required *by the Company respecting Tanjore, in those their Orders and Instructions*; one of which terms is, that this measure is to be effected, *without infringing the Nabob's Rights*;—and this direction, with respect to the successor of the present Rajah, is preceded by a reason which prevents the possibility of its being construed into an absolute Order for the violation of the Rights of the Nabob.—The Directors say, “As the Nabob has intimated his desire, that the Government of Tanjore should be placed in the hands of the King of Tan-

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 20.

“ jore's brother, or some other of his family, We direct that, in
 “ case the King of Tanjore shall not be living at the time of your
 “ receipt hereof at Fort St. George, you forthwith proceed to
 “ place the next of the Royal line, &c.”

IF, as I believe, these Instructions were really framed with the advice, and under the influence of, Lord Pigot, the 18th paragraph seems very artfully intended ;—for, from the positive Order it contains with respect to the Successor of the Rajah, the same Instructions may be inferred with respect to the Rajah himself :—Though, at the same time it must be observed, that the caution to find a pretence for this from the declarations of the Nabob, betrays a secret fear of openly infringing his reputed Rights, and is an additional proof of the justness of my observations.—I do not know that, since his possession of Tanjore, the Nabob has intimated the desire above attributed to him : He might have done so before that period ; but from the different situation of things, his sentiments at that time cannot now be justly regarded as a sufficient ground for a measure, to deprive him of what he conceives to be his Rights.

FROM these several circumstances, there appears to me just reason to conclude, that whatever might be their wishes or intention with respect to Tanjore, the Gentlemen of the Direction were afraid to order a Measure, which had so evident a tendency to involve the Company more deeply with Administration, and to bring on themselves a disagreeable responsibility. It will also, I think, appear very clearly, from Lord Pigot's conduct in Council, that, knowing this, he was nevertheless determined, at all events, to restore the Rajah ; yet, not wholly insensible of the delicacy

delicacy of his situation, he fought by every possible art, either to effect his purpose in a manner which would leave him blameless; or, failing so, to lessen his personal responsibility, by drawing the whole Council in the same predicament with himself.

WHAT I have here advanced, may as yet seem to merit only the appellation of Surmises: They must be verified;—and the natural order of such an undertaking seems at first to be, by examining his Lordship's conduct, step by step, from his arrival in India to the time of carrying his Measure into execution: But there are some of his manœuvres, and particularly in the public communications he designed to make to the Council, which, I now perceive, involve at once so many parts of his whole design, that such a mode of investigation would serve rather to confuse than enlighten the subject.—For the sake of perspicuity, therefore, I shall first state such leading parts of his Lordship's conduct, as tend to evince the truth of my opinions; and, from his various transactions both public and private, collect the proofs of them. They are as follows:

1st. *His unwearied assiduity to convince the Council that the Company's Instructions relative to Tanjore contained the most positive and indispensable Order to dispossess the Nabob and restore the Rajah, and to draw from them, on certain occasions, public declarations to that effect.*

2d. *His Caution, on other occasions, not to express himself positively on this point, but to confine himself strictly to the letter of the Company's Instructions.*

3d. *His*

3d. His management to prevent any discussion, which, by leading into too strict and nice an enquiry respecting the Orders of the Company, might discover the true spirit of them to the Council, and the latitude they afforded for delay in their execution; whereby the pre-determined design above attributed to his Lordship might have been frustrated.

4th. His laboured and artful attempts to draw from the Nabob a consent, either positive or implied, to the Restoration of the Rajah.

5th. His care to record, in the most public manner, every instance of the Nabob's compliance with any part of the instructions of the Company.

6th. His attempts to suppress from the public knowledge and inspection such representations and remonstrances of the Nabob as would discover that the execution of the Measures depriving him of the Tanjore Country were not only without his consent, but in open defiance of his claims of Right, and in direct opposition to his most earnest and repeated intreaties for the suspension of those Measures.

7th. His great assiduity to make every act tending to the forcible dispossession of the Nabob the unanimous Acts of the Council.

As to the leading point contained in the first article, viz. His Lordship's assiduity to convince his Council that the Company's Orders respecting Tanjore were positive and indispensable, and to draw from them, on certain occasions, public declarations to that effect;—it will appear that the means by which his Lordship proceeded to stamp this conviction on their minds were extremely artful.—At the first meeting of the Council in Consultation,

tion, he began by a prepared Speech, wherein he told them, " That notwithstanding the particular confidence expressed in him by the Company, and his being especially singled out for the execution of their Orders, yet he felt himself singly to be nothing, as all his power and consequence must be derived merely from acting in conjunction with them, and as the executor of their Resolutions;—That on this principle they must be sensible he could wish for nothing more than harmony and unanimity in Council, which it would be always his study to promote."—Then,—addressing himself to Sir Robert Fletcher, he observed to him " That although he had ever opposed the degree of power vested in the Commander in chief by the new Regulations, yet as such were the final Orders of the Company, he must submit entirely to them; and that his worthy friend might be assured he would leave the disposition of the Army solely to him."—Little as these declarations correspond with what afterwards appeared to be his pre-determined line of conduct, yet they effectually served his present purpose by gaining him the entire confidence of every Member of the Board; who, moreover, from the great share it was notorious his Lordship had in the Measures relative to Tanjore, relied on his being minutely acquainted with the sentiments and intentions of the Gentlemen at home; and, with respect to the business committed to his charge, every declaration of his Lordship was held to be the very voice of the Company. Perceiving himself possessed of the confidence of his Council, he entered upon the Orders relative to Tanjore. They were the result (he said) of great deliberation;—That after they were framed by the Court of Directors, they were presented to his Majesty's Ministers, who had expressed an entire approbation of them, which stamped them with peculiar validity.

validity.—These declarations, it is true, were not recorded at the time, but this was the very language his Lordship then held; and as a proof of it I may refer to his Letter to the Nabob, of the 22d of March 1776, where he says, “ I find myself
 “ obliged to observe that the business of Tanjore has been well
 “ deliberated by my masters, has been by them condemned, and
 “ their Orders in consequence were not delivered to me till after
 “ they had been laid before his Majesty’s Ministers for their ap-
 “ proval *.”

AFTER such declarations as these, there could not exist the shadow of a doubt in the mind of any Member that the Orders of the Company were irrevocably positive; and that it was the fixed intention of the Directors that the Nabob should be dispossessed, and the Rajah restored at all events. It was not indeed till long after this period that, from a more accurate inspection of these Instructions, any ideas to the contrary were first started.

NOT content, however, with the tacit acquiescence of the Council in this respect, his Lordship proceeded to take every opportunity to draw from them public acknowledgments that the Orders were positive and indispensable;—and as the proofs of this stand on record, I shall here point them out.

IN his Lordship’s Letter to the Nabob, of the 6th of March, wrote with the approbation of the Board, he says, “ *The Orders*
 “ *I have received from the Company are to restore the Country of Tan-*

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. 1. p. 86.

“jore to the Rajah.” He then mentions some reasons which he says *“make it absolutely necessary to carry those Orders into immediate effect *,”* and he therefore desires the Nabob to issue Orders to his officers to relinquish all manner of authority when called upon by him so to do.—In his Answer to a Letter from the Nabob, which Answer is dated the 22d of March, and had also the approbation of the Board, he conveys an implied menace of placing the Rajah in possession of Tanjore by violence; and in the same Letter he again particularly says *“the Orders to me are That the Country of Tanjore shall be put into the possession of the Rajah.”*—It is observable that these Letters are entered in the Consultation, though others apparently more material are omitted; and the several passages expressing the Company’s Orders, which appear above in Italics, are also particularly marked in the Records.

HIS Lordship’s Minute of the 25th of March, which was unanimously assented to, is still more declaratory of the positive and indispensable nature of the Company’s Orders. I shall transcribe it.

“The President judging from the Letter of the Nabob entered in last Consultation, that he will not give his consent to our carrying into execution the Orders of the Company with respect to Tanjore; and the state of the Crops in that country not admitting of any further delay, he (the President) has ordered Palanqueen boys on the road, and with the approbation of the Board will set out for Tanjore to carry the

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 81.

“ Orders of the Company into effect, by placing the Rajah of Tanjore in the full possession and management of the Country *.” — We have here surely nothing less than an acknowledgment from the Board that the Order of the Company was to dispossess the Nabob of the Tanjore country, without regard to his remonstrances or claims of Right.

ANOTHER circumstance, which should not pass wholly unnoticed, is, that, on Mr. Dalrymple's Motion, which was always received as his Lordship's, the Instructions were three times publicly read, contrary to the practice of the Board, and for no obvious purpose; for every Member imagined himself perfectly acquainted with the contents, and paid little attention to the reading, totally unsuspecting of any concealed design. But it is now manifest enough that those repeated Publications were meant as so many recorded instances of the absolute unanimity of opinion in the Board respecting the tenour of those Instructions.

If his Lordship had been conscious that the Company's Orders relative to Tanjore were clear and positive for dispossessing the Nabob, and restoring the Rajah, without any regard to the Nabob's Rights, does it appear natural that he should be so very studious to convey this persuasion, and to record so many Public acknowledgments and explanations of them? To me at least, this anxious attention is one strong proof (among many others) that he knew the contrary; but that being determined as to his measures, he thought it necessary to inculcate a persuasion which would insure the execution of them; and he judged it expedient

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 88.

to treasure up so many instances of the general acquiescence of the Council as a justification of himself, should he thereafter be accused of violating the Rights of the Nabob, without positive Orders from the Company, and contrary to their intention.

ANOTHER proof that his Lordship was sensible the Orders of the Company were not *positive*, is that part of his Conduct mentioned in

THE SECOND ARTICLE.

His Caution, on other occasions, not to express himself positively on the Measure respecting Tanjore, but to confine himself strictly to the letter of the Company's Instructions.

Now, although, in his declarations to the Council, and in the public Letters written by their authority, his Lordship had frequently asserted that the Company's Orders were to restore the Rajah, and to place him in full possession and management of the Tanjore Country, yet it will be shewn that, *on other occasions*, he appears cautious of expressing himself positively on this point, and confines himself strictly to the letter of the Company's Instructions. An instance of this appears in the first paragraph of his Letter to the Rajah of the 2d of February. These are his words.

“ THE English East-India Company disapproving of the late
“ conduct of their Servants with respect to Tanjore, have
“ thought proper to direct me to replace you upon the Throne
“ of your ancestors, upon certain terms and conditions to be

" agreed upon for the mutual benefit of yourself and the English East-India Company, *without infringing the Rights of Mahomed Ally Carun, the Nabob of the Carnatic* *."

IF his Lordship knew or believed that the Orders of the Company were positive to restore the Rajah without the consent of the Nabob, and in total disregard of his claims of Right, it is difficult to conceive why he should not at once have been explicit with him. The truth, I believe, is, that, at this time, his Lordship was indefatigable in his endeavours to work out a consent from the Nabob, in which he determined to persist till the season for collecting in the grain rendered it destructive of his private views farther to delay his pre-determined design of dispossessing him at all events: Till then his Lordship did not find it requisite to exceed the limits of the Company's Orders, and expose himself to an unnecessary responsibility. — By putting an English Garrison into Tanjore with the Nabob's consent, affording protection to the Rajah, and simply giving him the assurances contained in the Company's Instructions, he, for the present, kept strictly within the letter of those instructions, and reserved that plea for delaying to place him in the possession and management of the Country, which the words "*without infringing the Rights of Mahomed Ally Carun*," may certainly be allowed to furnish.

A SECOND instance of this caution we find in the Letter to the Governor General, &c. at Bengal, of the 17th of February, which says, "By the Grenville packet to your Honour, &c. from

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 53.

“ the Court of Directors, you must have been informed that we
 “ had their special orders to set the Rajah of Tanjore at liberty and
 “ to put an English Garrison in the Fort, and on certain conditions
 “ to restore him to his Government *.” His Lordship’s silence
 here in respect to his future intentions, affords a further proof
 that he very well knew what insecure ground he trod upon. If
 he thought his Instructions had warranted him to place the Rajah
 in possession of the County, with or without the consent of the
 Nabob, it was no more than his duty to the supreme Council,
 as General Guardians of the Weal of India, to inform them of
 an intent that might so materially affect it : And this silence af-
 fords too some proof of that part of his conduct stated in

THE THIRD ARTICLE.

*His management to prevent any discussion which, by leading into too
 strict and nice an inquiry respecting the orders of the Company, might
 discover the true spirit of them to the Council, and the latitude they affor-
 ded for delay in their execution, whereby the predetermined design above
 attributed to his Lordship might have been frustrated.*

I MUST here observe, that his Lordship could not be ignorant
 that the Orders relative to Tanjore were thought by many very
 unjust to the Nabob, tending to involve his affairs in great confu-
 sion, if not in ruin, and consequently to embarrass those of the
 Company : If the Council should once have possessed these senti-
 ments, it would have been natural to suppose they would have
 readily employed any means in their power to avert such fatal conse-

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 76.

quences ;

quences ; and their first Step must have been to suspend the Execution of a Measure which teemed with these alarming Mischiefs ; but, according to the then prevalent opinion of the clearness and indispensability of the Company's Orders, such a suspension was hopeless. Any representations from the Nabob, stating minutely his Rights, his injuries, and his probable ruin, and requesting this delay, might lead into a discussion of the possibility and propriety of granting it ; might open to a discovery of what his Lordship knew of the tenour and spirit of the Orders in question, and terminate in a subversion of that opinion, whereon depended the execution of his designs and views in respect to Tanjore.—For these reasons it was, that his Lordship so long refused to receive any Letters from the Nabob, and prohibited all Writing on so dangerous a subject ; inasmuch that the Nabob found it necessary to have recourse to artifice, for the introduction of any representations in Writing from him to his Lordship: It was safer and more favourable to his Lordship's views, that every thing relative to this important business should be settled verbally between him and the Nabob, in a friendly *tête à tête*. The Nabob's Letter to the Governor General and Council, will fully explain this matter, of which I shall also produce a strong corroborating proof from his Lordship's own declaration, in his Minute of the 22d of January, wherein he says, that “ He (the President) “ had this morning received a Letter, which, he was *taught to* “ *believe*, contained the Nabob's assent to conform to the pleasure “ of the Court of Directors; but that from a slight explanation of “ it, he apprehended it contained stipulations inconsistent with “ those Orders *.”—The most obvious reflection that can possibly

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 38.

occur on the perusal of this declaration, is, that his Lordship had refused to receive the Nabob's Letters : For on what other ground, or for what other reason, could it have been necessary for his Lordship to be *taught to believe*, that this Letter *contained* what it did *not* contain ?

THE first positive evidence on Record of his Lordship's art to prevent the discussions which, as we have above shewn, he was so desirous to avoid, appears in his Minute of the 22d of January, and from his transactions on that day, and on the 25th.—Having before in vain employed secret intreaty, threats, and splendid promises, to obtain the Nabob's compliance with his views, his Lordship seems to have taken his determination, on the 22d, to try the effect of a public Resolution of the Board, in order to convince the Nabob, that the Council were determined, at all events, to restore the Rajah, pursuant to (what they conceived to be) the Orders of the Company.—In stating the Evidence of the 4th Article, I shall minutely examine the probable consequences of this Resolution, and the inferences which might be drawn from it ; to which I shall here refer the Reader. Some time before the 22d of January, the Nabob had prepared an Address, which on that day he had contrived to get delivered to Lord Pigot, trusting that it must then of course be read at the Board and debated upon. This Letter, as it might be expected, contained a summary of all the Nabob's private conversation with his Lordship relative to the great business of Tanjore ; and wherein he imagines that the Court of Directors have issued their Orders to deprive him of that Country on mistaken grounds, or false representations ;—he then enters into the justice of the Measures which led to the deposing of the Rajah, founded on his

his faithless and atrocious conduct, equally derogatory to the honour of a Prince, and dangerous to the good of his People and the true interests of the Company;—That from these considerations the Directors had issued Orders, which in a great measure warranted the subsequent transactions relative to the Rajah, whose final reduction was implicitly sanctified by the opinion and approval of the two most dignified and confidential Servants of the Company, conveyed in their assent to the compulsory measures employed against him in 1771; and, above all, by his Majesty's congratulations, after due representations of the necessity of those measures, and of the success of them; which amounted to a tacit acknowledgment that they were founded in justice;—he then states very amply that from the Capture of Tanjore;—for releasing large districts out of the hands of other European Nations;—for the cultivation, improvement, and defence of the Country, &c. he had expended vast sums, and greatly increased his ordinary Establishments, which had left him in arrears with his troops, and loaded him with a heavy burthen of debt; demands to which, when deprived of Tanjore, his remaining revenues would be wholly inadequate; and that therefore the loss of that Country must involve him in inextricable ruin, and of course greatly embarrass the Company, wholly deprived as he should then be, of the means of performing his engagements with them.—He states next the discredit which the execution of this Measure must bring on him in the eyes of the Country Princes, whose Vackeels were present at the reading of his Majesty's Letters of congratulation; and the diffidence it must necessarily create in them of our National honour:—He owns the coercive power of the Company, but trusts it will not be exercised to deprive him of his unquestionable Right; he hopes, from his Lordship's professed friendship

friendship that he will convey his Representations to the Company, and second them with his own, which may serve to convince them of the injustice and impolicy of their late Orders; and that in the interim he will suspend the execution of them; which in justice to his own Rights he cannot comply with, before such Reference has been made;—that though it is contrary to the Treaty, he is ready, on these terms, to admit an English Garrison into the Fort of Tanjore;—and finally requests his Lordship to give Orders that no persons shall in any manner interfere in his affairs in the Tanjore Country, till Answers are received from England*.

HAD this Letter been read, and the least idea prevailed of the possibility of suffering the Nabob to remain in possession of Tanjore till the result of his Reference was known, without being culpable of a direct contempt and violation of the Company's Orders, it is more than probable that, on mature consideration, a Majority of the Board would not have proceeded to a Measure so apparently declaratory of their intentions to exert the coercive power of the Company, as to issue *an Order for their Troops to take the field*.—It seems very reasonable to suppose, that at any rate, either by a Reference to Bengal, or from reasons founded on the necessity of it, they might have been induced to comply with the Nabob's request, had his Propositions been known; and the more so, because by those Propositions any future Orders might have been executed without the reproach of a violation of Right on the part of the Nabob. The English Nation was rendered Arbiter of the point of Justice between him and the Ra-

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

jah, a security was given into our hands for the peaceable execution of their Award without a possibility of Resistance.—As the Rajah had not been even apprized of the Company's intentions in his favour, there could be no objection on his part to the requisite delay,—and no one could be insensible how beneficial such delay would have been both to the exterior and interior Interests of the Company at that particular juncture. Sensible of what is contended for in this reasoning, his Lordship seems afraid to trust the Board with these representations and this proposition of the Nabob, because the fairness and importance of them must have induced such a minute discussion as might have led to a discovery of the spirit and tenour of the Company's Instructions, and the latitude they afford for delay; or have produced a Reference to Bengal on the expediency of suspending the Restoration of the Rajah;—either of which would probably have frustrated Lord Pigot's grand design.

For the proof of this I shall now examine his Lordship's Minute of the 22d of January: It says, “The Right Honorable the President acquaints the Board, that after the many conversations with the Nabob, which he has from time to time communicated, and after having repeatedly assured his Highness that it was impossible to accept of his offer that the Company's Troops should garrison Tanjore, under any conditions which might be construed to imply a promise on our part that the Country should remain under the Nabob's Management, &c.”—Now although his Lordship has here concealed himself under the most laboured, dark, double, and evasive

terms that can well be conceived, yet the natural inference to be drawn from this part of his Lordship's Minute, seems to be precisely this, That the ultimate result of all his conversations with the Nabob was a proposal from him to receive the Company's Garrison into Tanjore on condition that this might be construed to imply a promise that the Country should remain in his (the Nabob's) Management *for ever*.—I add *for ever*, because as his Lordship has not mentioned any time for the limitation of such promise, this addition is necessarily implied; and this implication makes the great difference between the proposal as stated by his Lordship, and that offered in writing by the Nabob; which was, that he (the Nabob) would voluntarily and immediately receive the Company's Garrison into Tanjore, provided his Lordship would consent that the Country should remain in his possession *till the Company's further pleasure should be known*. This is incontestibly the only construction the Nabob's words will fairly admit of; and in this sense they are confirmed in every subsequent Letter of the Nabob, but more precisely in that of the 28th of March, 1776, which concludes a long correspondence, and contains his final essay to persuade Lord Pigot to suspend the execution of the Company's Orders: The Nabob here offers, after discharging the Mortgages on the Country, and paying the Company's Garrison, and the current expences of Government, to set apart the remainder of the collections of the Tanjore Country till an Answer should be received from Europe.—He then adds, “The difference between your request “and mine is” this;—you insist on executing the Company's “Orders forcibly, and against my consent,” [by depriving the Nabob of the Tanjore country] “whereas I am willing to wait “till an Answer is received from them before I give it up.”—

Let the world judge of, and account for, the difference between the reasonable offer of the Nabob contained in his Letter, and that reported to the Board by his Lordship, which necessarily precluded all discussion, as totally contrary to their idea of the Orders and Intention of the Company. It may be urged that his Lordship understood the Nabob's offer in the manner he represents it; but his great care to prevent the Nabob's Letter being then read manifests the contrary; more especially as that Letter had been cursorily explained to his Lordship, and as the concluding paragraph, which must forcibly have struck the European Interpreter, contains a summary of his statement and propositions, and particularly a repetition of his request to his Lordship to wait for an answer from England. If, after this, the shadow of a doubt could remain, the general tenour of the Minute must dispel it totally: It all turns on this Letter; and the decisive resolution it contains seems only formed in consequence of the receipt of it.—It is now that Lord Pigot first appears to despair of his private influence with the Nabob, and to determine to have recourse to the terrors of a Public resolution to enforce the Restoration of the Rajah at all events.

HAVING thus stated to the Board the result of his different Conferences with the Nabob in a way which he knew must necessarily preclude all discussion, his Lordship's next design was to secrete from their knowledge the real Propositions of the Nabob, at least till he knew how far the several Members of the Council were disposed to listen to any Representations his Highness might make for the purpose of procuring a suspension of the Orders of the Company. It should be here observed that his Lordship's Minute of the 22d of January, and the Resolution it contains, were

were brought into Council ready-framed, in confidence that it would be no sooner read than approved. In conversation with the Members, his Lordship affected to treat the Nabob's Letter very lightly; he said, no doubt the Nabob could not be pleased with the loss of Tanjore, and would pester them, if attention was given to him, with long nonsensical representations; but as the Company's Orders were positive and indispensable, listening to such representations would only occasion delay. From the ideas with which his Lordship had prepossessed the Council, this language met with a ready assent, and I am warranted to say there was not at the time one Member who thought it at all requisite to peruse the Nabob's Letter; especially after his Lordship's report of the nature of his propositions. The tenour of the public Minute agrees with this private harangue to the Members; in which, after mentioning the result of his Conversations with the Nabob, as above set forth, he proceeds to say, "He (the President) had this Morning received a Letter, which he was *taught to believe* contained the Nabob's assent to conform to the pleasure of the Court of Directors, but this Letter being very long, and as from the cursory explanation of Mr. Chambers, the Translator, the President apprehended the Letter contained stipulations inconsistent with the Company's Orders, he wished therefore to have another opportunity of conversing with the Nabob when he was thoroughly acquainted with the substance of this Letter, and would for that purpose see him as soon as the Letter was translated."—I must here again refer to the observations I shall make, under the 4th Article, on this day's proceeding, in the examination of the different steps by which his Lordship proceeded to work out an unconditional consent from the Nabob; where it will be shewn, that his leading

aim

aim in the Minute of the 22d of January was to draw from the Board a Resolution for part of the Company's Troops to take the field. I believe that most of the Board saw in this Resolution nothing but the declared intention of it, viz. "That no delay might be occasioned in proceeding to garrison Tanjore;"—but conscious of his own views, his Lordship felt, with its due force, the weight and tendency of it; and fearful that a Resolution, in a manner declaratory of an intention to divest the Nabob of Tanjore in despite of his remonstrances, might appear so decisive a step, that the Board would hesitate at passing it, and thereupon discover ground for the so-much-dreaded discussion, he therefore rapidly passes by the Nabob's Letter as *very long*, and containing stipulations inconsistent with the Company's Orders,—reserves the consideration of it to himself,—and hurries on to his wished-for Resolution. In whatever point of view I see his Lordship's studied disregard of these written, public Propositions, and this request of the Nabob, on the subject of Tanjore, it appears to have no other intention than to prevent a discussion which might lead to a discovery of the *true sense* and spirit of the Company's Instructions, and thereby frustrate his pre-determined designs.—Had it not been for this pre-determination, it seems to be in the due course of Business that this first Letter on that subject from the Nabob should have been especially attended to: It was natural to expect from the Nabob a statement of his difficulties and distresses, his objections and expedients: These might have been amply discussed; the Orders of the Company adverted to; and, with every light before them, the Board might then decisively have drawn their future line of conduct, as the sense of their duty directed; instead of which, this first Representation of the Nabob seems to have been most studiously secreted

secreted from the Board: We have seen it neglected on the 22d of January, and it does not appear to have been read till after the Orders for the Company's Troops to take the Field had passed, and the Nabob had signified his unconditional consent to receive an English Garrison into Tanjore, viz. on the 25th of that month, when it is minuted at the end of the Consultation of that day as read; although I am well authorized to say it was not read;—and what is most singular, this first Letter is not entered on the face of the Consultation (though every other Letter of the Nabob on this subject is) but simply referred to in the Country Correspondence Book; where, in the course of Office business, it might not appear till six months after; whilst the original Letter remained under his Lordship's particular custody.

HAVING on this occasion found his Council impressed with the idea, that no regard could be paid to such Offers and Representations of the Nabob, as were inconsistent with his own Report of the Company's Orders and Intentions, his Lordship was in future less fearful of trusting the Board with the inspection of those offers and representations, and they were ordered to be entered on the Records, and even brought translated into Council, though in such a manner as rather to be minuted only, than to be debated upon; rather to procure a sanction for what his Lordship had done, than to advise with his Council what he was to do.—In Consultation on the 11th of March, page 153, we find it thus minuted: “The Right Honourable the President lays before the Board the following Letter from the Nabob, together with the Answer he had sent in consequence.”—Now this Letter was dated 14 days before, viz. on the 26th of February, and the Answer

Answer on the 6th of March: And again on the 22d of March,
 “ The President lays before the Board, a Letter he received
 “ from the Nabob, dated the 19th Instant, as entered hereafter,
 “ together with the draft of his Answer to that Letter, which,
 “ meeting with the approbation of the Board, he is desired to
 “ send the same to the Nabob.” It should be observed, that this
 Answer contains one of those explanations of the Company's Or-
 der, which it was part of the business of his Lordship's artifice
 to draw publicly from the Board; and therefore the previous ap-
 proval of it was requisite, which again appears in the Minutes of
 the 28th of March.

THE Proceedings of the 25th of March, afford a still more
 glaring proof of that part of his Lordship's conduct now under
 consideration, in which he seems to tread, step by step, in the
 path he had marked out for himself on the 22d of January, only
 in a more firm and determined manner. Finding all his endea-
 vours fruitless to gain the consent of the Nabob to relinquish his
 Right to the Tanjore Country, he finally determines to effect the
 Restoration of the Rajah at all events, but feels it necessary, at
 this particular juncture, to prevent any opening for discussion;
 treating therefore the propriety of dispossessing the Nabob, with-
 out regard to his rights, as a thing of course, he brings in a pre-
 pared Minute in these words: “ The President judging from the
 “ letter of the Nabob entered in last Consultation, that he will
 “ not give his consent to our carrying into execution the Orders
 “ of the Company with respect to Tanjore; and the state of the
 “ Crops in the Country not admitting of any further delay, he
 “ (the President) has ordered Palanqueen boys on the road,
 “ and, with the approbation of the Board, will set out for Tan-
 jore

“ jore the 30th of March, to carry the Orders of the Company
 “ into effect, by placing the Rajah of Tanjore in the full Possess-
 “ sion and management of the Country.” This was unanimously
 agreed to; and the remaining part of this day’s Consultation con-
 tains Resolutions and Orders entered into, and made in consequence
 of that Resolution.

AND here let me again be permitted to point out the similarity
 of his Lordship’s Conduct on the 22d of January and on the 25th
 of March. On the former day, with a Letter in his hand from the
 Nabob containing *written propositions*, which it seems probable
 he fully understood, he refers the Board to certain *conversations*
 with the Nabob, and totally different from his real Offers. Ha-
 ving taken his Line from that Letter, his Lordship, in effect, se-
 creted from the Board the grounds on which he drew that Line,
 and led them to act on grounds totally different, and which fully
 warranted the Resolutions he extracted from them. It was precise-
 ly the same on the 25th of March, where, in his Minute of that Date,
 he says, “ The President, judging from the Letter of the Nabob, en-
 “ *tered in last Consultation*, (meaning his Letter of the 19th of March,
 “ entered on the 22d) that he (the Nabob) will not give his consent
 “ to our carrying into execution the Orders relative to Tanjore, &c.”
 Now from this passage it is certainly to be inferred, that he judged
 only from the Nabob’s Letter of the 19th; and, if so, why did he hesitate
 to take his final resolution on the day that Letter was supposed to
 be debated on, when the Board was met, and when the Reasons
 on which he determined to set out for Tanjore were full as urgent
 as on the 25th; *I mean the collecting in of the Grain*, from which
 arises the chief Revenue of the Country. This unnecessary de-
 lay appears quite inconsistent with propriety and expediency, at

that *pressing* and interesting juncture, if he judged only from the Letter of the 19th of March. On combining circumstances, we may now see his Lordship's Conduct in quite another view, than that in which it is made to appear on the Record. It should seem, that notwithstanding the frequent failure of his attempts to induce the Nabob's Consent, he still entertained some hopes from his pressing Letter of the 22d, sent by public approbation of the Board in answer to the Nabob's of the 19th, And particularly from the menace it contained of divesting the Nabob of the Tanjore Country at all events, if he should any longer withhold the so much importuned consent; but in this he was entirely mistaken; for on the very Day in question, this 25th of March, the Nabob delivered him a Letter in answer to that of the 22d, which must have convinced his Lordship, that he had taken a Resolution, of which he was so tenacious, that all his Lordship's intreaties, his promises, or Public threats (of which the Nabob takes very particular notice in his Letter) could not alter. This resolution was to adhere to his Appeal to the King, the Parliament, and the Company, on the subject of his Right to Tanjore; not to yield up a tittle of that Right, or voluntarily to relinquish the Country till Answers to his Appeal should arrive from England; but at the same time to submit patiently and without opposition to any forcible Measures his Lordship might adopt to dispossess him. It may appear strange, that at the time when the Board were to debate on a Measure so important as that of forcibly dispossessing the Nabob of a Country which he claimed as his Right on grounds so public and so solemn;—it may appear strange, I say, that this very Letter, which was understood to be the Nabob's final answer to the various applications which had been made to him to relinquish his claims, and which, therefore, should have

have been the foundation of that debate, should then be secreted from their knowledge; yet so it was; nor did his Lordship communicate the Letter, till he found, from the declared sentiments of the Members, that there was no danger, by such communication, of bringing on that discussion, which he dreaded as destructive to his Views, and which therefore it had been so much his study to prevent.

THE Reasons of his Lordship's particular caution at this juncture, are now sufficiently apparent: The Letter from the Nabob was of a nature to fix the attention of the Board;—it was clear, sensible and pathetic;—he answers the objections made to the suspending of the execution of the Company's Directions;—he recapitulates the grounds of his Rights, and rests them in an Authority so respectable, as to render even a constructive infringement of them delicate and fearful, unless secured by the sanction of the most positive and clear Injunctions:—He conjures his Lordship by his long and faithful alliance to suspend matters, till the arrival of Answers from England.—To minds unimpressed with the forcible persuasion of the indispensable and unalterable Resolutions of the Company, and unalarmed by the Terrors held over Them, who should in the least impede the execution of those Resolutions, the Reasons and Intreaties of the Nabob must have appeared sufficient inducements to comply with his general Request; more especially as, from his Offers, this could have been done without injustice to any one;—for his Lordship was well informed by the Nabob of the Assignments given by him on the Tanjore Country, and there was not any doubt, that those Assignments would have been secure; and that from the strict justice of it, the Arrears due to the Troops maintained for the de-

fence of that Country would be paid them from the Crop on the ground ; and if so, the Rajah could be no sufferer, as their joint demands must nearly consume the whole produce of it.—A still more forcible motive too subsisted at this period : By the Reports from Poonah, the Company had just reason to expect a War with the Marattoes, which would have required the joint exertion of their forces and those of their Ally the Nabob. I do not know whether the Letter from the Governor General and Council, informing the Government of Madras of this War, and directing them to co-operate with the Presidency of Bombay, was not received on the 25th ; it is dated the 7th ; and at that time of the year, it is usual for Letters to arrive from Bengal in 18 days ; It was not however read till the 28th.—*In such Circumstances, the Absurdity of executing a Measure that could possibly be avoided, which must so distress the Finances of our Ally, and of course our own, as to render our Army useless, is too evident, too glaring, to need a Discussion.* It is palpable, that depriving the Nabob of Tanjore, in the manner pre-determined by his Lordship, must have involved us in this distress ; as the bulk of his Army, and particularly his Cavalry, depended on the growing Crop ; deprived of which, all the Arrears due to the Troops, and all the Assignments, must fall on his remaining Revenues already fully mortgaged ; this must have caused general apprehensions for the Credit of the Nabob, and a general fear of making him any farther Loans ; the natural consequence of this must have been that total want of ready Money, which has since prevailed, and which must have rendered the Presidency of Madras absolutely incapable of co-operating effectually in the expected War.—His Lordship was therefore in a very delicate situation : If he was sensible that the Orders were not positive for depriving the Nabob of Tanjore without regard to his claims, or that
such

such was not the secret Intention of his Employers, he had very dangerously committed himself by his declarations to the contrary, and, by his menace and resolution to execute them by military force, contained in his Letter of the 22d.—A discussion into the nature of these Orders, and into the propriety of suspending them, would probably, at so critical a juncture, have deprived him of the fruits of his toils and dangers, at the very instant he was extending his hand to gather them: And on no other principle can we possibly account for his Lordship's *delaying to communicate to the Board* a Letter from the Nabob, which, combined with other coinciding circumstances, must have fixed their serious attentions, *until* they had passed the Resolutions he aimed at, and *until* he found that the circumstances alluded to, would not operate to the Revocation of those Resolutions: Accordingly on the 28th, he held his final Council on this Point. The Letter from the Governor General and Council was read; two Battalions of Sepoys were ordered to march; a Minute was even made of the probable distress for cash by means of the general resources of the Presidency being only adequate to its general demands; and that the Company were left too much at the mercy of the Nabob, their chief dependence being on his Payments; and this was done without a Member suggesting, or, I believe, thinking of the Expediency of Suspending the Orders relative to Tanjore. Secure then from every apprehension, his Lordship now introduced the Nabob's Letter of the 25th; which on the Record stands minuted as dated and received on that day, altho', contrary to the usual custom he had before observed, no mention of the date is made in his Minute on this occasion. A prepared Answer was presented by the President, and approved; a repetition of his request, in a Letter of this day from the Nabob, was introduced after that Answer,

swer, without a single opinion being delivered on the subject; because the above Answer agreed to preclude the propriety of even Considering his Request.

HAVING thus minutely detected the arts his Lordship employed against his Council for the purposes mentioned in the Article of his Conduct now under consideration, I shall proceed to point out his cautions, from a similar view, in the only remaining quarter from whence his designs might be impeded—I mean the Governor General and Council.

ONE great purpose of the superior controuling Powers vested in the Governor General and Council is certainly to give a Connection to all the Political movements of the British Empire in India; and therefore either of the other Presidences must not only stand excused for the suspension of the most special Orders of the Court of Directors, provided the Governor General and Council represent, that Circumstances have rendered the immediate execution of those Orders temporarily destructive of, or injurious to, the purpose of their Institution; but such Presidency would be highly blameable if it proceeded *to the execution of any Orders* after such a representation from the superior Council: For it is to be supposed that the Objects they may have in view, infinitely outweigh any temporary disadvantage that may arise to the Company by such a suspension of their Orders.—Notwithstanding his avowed contempt of the authority of the Superior Council, Lord Pigot seems to have felt the truth contained in this observation; and however determined he might be to disregard any interference from them, he seems studiously to have avoided heaping on himself the additional blame of this disregard,

gard, or to have given occasion for a new discussion of the Orders relative to Tanjore by persons unimpressed perhaps with that strong conviction of the indispensability of them, which he had been able to stamp on the minds of his Council.—On his arrival, his Lordship knew the probability which then existed of our being engaged in a War, in which the exertion of the three Presidences would be requisite, and particularly that of Madras; and he must have felt that the evident impropriety of executing, at such a juncture, a Measure tending to deprive the Company of their resources, and of the aid of our Ally the Nabob, would naturally lead the Governor General and Council to recommend the suspension of that Measure, when they knew it could be done without a virtual breach of the Orders of the Company, without injury to any of their interests, or injustice to any one. For these reasons he secreted from them the offers and repeated requests of the Nabob, contrary to the Act of Parliament, which requires they should be kept advised of all Political transactions;—and, making rather too free with truth, he states to them the disposition of the Nabob manifestly different from what it really was. In proof of this I refer to the Record of the 19th of February, where it stands minuted, that “The following Letter was dispatched on the 17th instant, to the Governor General and Council at Bengal.” So long after the Transaction as the 19th of February, he, for the first time, acquaints them,—not with the Nabob’s Consent to receive a Garrison into Tanjore; because the length of time employed in obtaining it might have given rise to different sentiments of his disposition from those that his Lordship wished to convey; but,—simply that the Company’s Troops had relieved those of the Nabob in Tanjore;—and concludes the paragraph with saying, “We are on very friendly terms with
the

“ the Nabob, who professes that he will be entirely guided by
 “ our President's advice.” Can this be deemed a true state of
 the Nabob's disposition, at a time when he was hourly refusing
 to comply with his Lordship's intreaties to relinquish, as of his
 own free will, the Tanjore Country,—exclaiming against the in-
 tention of dispossessing him as unjust, as a direct infringement of
 his Rights founded on misrepresentation,—and earnestly request-
 ing the Company's Orders might be suspended till their further
 pleasure should be known? It is true that by the word,—*profes-*
ses,—his Lordship avoids directly committing himself; but who-
 ever peruses this Letter, and combines with it his Lordship's to-
 tal silence on the several representations of the Nabob, must feel
 that the whole is meant to impress an idea, that the Nabob was
 inclined to give his Voluntary Consent to the Restoration of the
 Rajah.—And whatever difference there may be between an abso-
 lute falsehood, and an attempt to convey false information in
 words colourably true, I have no wish to deprive his Lordship's
 Advocate of the benefit of any such distinction :—there is certainly
 more of ingenuity in the latter.—If no imposition was intended,
 why were not the Letters to and from the Nabob sent to the supreme
 Council in the same packet? They were surely rather more impor-
 tant than those to and from the Rajah.

His Lordship continues entirely silent to the Governor General
 and Council, till the determinations of the Board had rendered
 their interference in his grand design wholly impossible :—This
 was after the Resolution was passed for his proceeding to Tanjore.
 He seems indeed to have wished not to advise them of the Mea-
 sure, till the Nabob was actually dispossessed ; but it was requisite
 he should write to the Governor General and Council, in answer

to

to their Directions concerning the Morattoo war, before he entered on his Expedition to Tanjore.—On the instant of his departure, he acquaints them with his intention by letter, dated the 29th of March, the last paragraph of which says, “ In the Letter we had the honor to write to you on the 17th of February, you were acquainted that an English Garrison was put into the Fort at Tanjore, and our President will set out this Evening, to carry into effect the orders of Company on this head : We cannot say that the Nabob very heartily concurs in this measure ; at the same time, we have his assurance that it shall not lessen his friendship.” I must here direct the Reader’s attention to the Nabob’s Correspondence, and particularly to his Letters of the 25th and 28th of March : It will be there seen, whether or not this is a just representation of the Nabob’s mind and disposition :—A true state of matters must indeed have involved his Lordship’s self-condemnation.—In discussing the consequences which the transactions at Poonah might lead to, the probable distress of the Presidency for Money, is mentioned as the most striking one, and the reason assigned for it is strong. The Council say, “ It is allowed that the Revenues and other receipts are sufficient to defray the current expences, as well as for the provision of the Investment ; but at the close of the month, there is seldom more than a small overplus. This state of the Treasury leaves us too much at the mercy of the Nabob, as our dependence is on his payments.”—Had he at the same time stated those distresses foretold by the Nabob, which must necessarily deprive them of all dependence on him, his Lordship felt there could be no person, but would naturally enquire why at least the possibility of Suspending the Measure which would occasion this distress, was not discussed ; and, as Guardians of the general safety

of India, the Governor General and Council would as naturally have recommended a Suspension.

THE FOURTH ARTICLE.

His laboured and artful attempts to draw from the Nabob a Consent, either positive or implied, to the Restitution of Tanjore.

FROM the several instances, collected under the 1st and 2d Articles, of his Lordship's great assiduity to convince the Council that the Company's Instructions relative to Tanjore contained the most positive and indispensable Orders to dispossess the Nabob, and restore the Rajah; and to draw from the Board, *on certain occasions*, Public declarations to that effect; whilst on *other occasions*, he was cautious not to express himself positively on this head, but confined himself strictly to the letter of his Instructions;—from these circumstances alone may justly be inferred a diffidence in his Lordship, if not a positive knowledge, of the tenour and intention of those Instructions; and from the instances, collected under the preceding Article, of his Arts to prevent any discussions leading to such a discovery in others, we plainly enough perceive a most pre-determined design, still, at all events, to dispossess the Nabob, and restore the Rajah.—The proofs I shall furnish under this Article of his laboured and artful attempts to obtain from the Nabob a Consent, either positive or implied, to the Restitution of Tanjore, will confirm, beyond a doubt, the truth of the foregoing inferences, and stamp a full conviction that his Lordship felt on what dangerous and delicate ground he trod, should he venture to deprive the Nabob of Tanjore, in total disregard of his claims of Right;—that he feared the
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the consequences;—and was therefore anxious to avoid those evils that might ensue to himself from the execution of his grand design.

THE strong persuasion with which he had impressed every other person, in respect to the tenour and nature of the Company's Orders, was doubly requisite in his designs on the Nabob; he repeatedly declared to him that they were positive and indispensable; and at once to deprive the Nabob of all expectation or hope of Redress from an application to Europe, he assured him, that the Orders relative to Tanjore had been submitted to, and approved, by the first Minister of State;—that the Restoration of the Rajah being a joint act of the King and the Company, he (the Nabob) should regard it as a stroke of fate, which could not possibly be avoided, resisted, or altered;—and the more to deceive his Highness, to lead him into the reach of his views, and to cover his future designs, his Lordship descended to the low artifices of a native of Indostan;—he professed the warmest affection for the Nabob, canted to him of former times, and even in tears lamented the misfortune that hung over him, and his own particular unhappiness in being the unwilling instrument of that misfortune.

AND here it may not be improper to digress a little for the purpose of making some observations on his Lordship's assertion regarding the approval of the King's Ministers. This was a circumstance, above all others, most conducive to the Nabob's despair, and of course more favourable to the success of the various Artifices employed to obtain his Consent. It is a fact not to be disputed, that Lord Pigot declared, without reserve, both to

the Nabob and to his Council, that Lord North had approved the Orders after they had lain before him six days for consideration. It may be so;—but still if Lord Pigot was perfectly convinced of this fact, it appears altogether unaccountable why he should hesitate to make a Recorded declaration of it: Determined as he was to intimidate the Nabob, he was yet afraid, in his Letter of the 22d of March, to hazard this forcible assertion.—Let us see how far he ventures in this Letter: These are his words.—“I find myself obliged to observe that the Business of
 “ Tanjore has been well deliberated by my Masters, has been by
 “ them condemned, and their Orders in consequence were not
 “ delivered to me till after they had been laid before his Ma-
 “ jesty's Ministers for their approval*.” Fully persuaded that his former assertions in respect to a fact of so important a nature could not be on slight grounds, a doubt could never occur at that time in the mind of any person, whether, in consequence of the Instructions having been laid before his Majesty's Ministers, they had signified their approval of the Orders: This was regarded so much as a thing of course, that the want of this positive assertion, in a Letter intended to convey that idea as an argument against complying with the Nabob's request, passed then wholly unperceived. But if his Lordship knew that these Orders had received the express approbation of the Ministry, it was an act of great injustice to the Council to deprive them of a Recorded circumstance, which would in a great degree have justified their non-suspension of the Measures relative to Tanjore. His Lordship availed himself of the benefit of this assertion to forward his designs both on them and the Nabob, without incurring the danger of recording, and vouching it by his own signature.

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 86.

FINDING however that, notwithstanding his representations of the positive and irrevocable Orders of the Company, the Nabob was not disposed to a voluntary resignation of his Rights to the Tanjore Country, Lord Pigot brought other arts in aid; He had first recourse to entreaty; and it is said, so earnest was he to obtain his point, that he very frequently wept, and conjured the Nabob by his tears, no longer to withhold his Consent. When he found intreaty fruitless, he had recourse to menace; and, at times, gave himself up to the most violent paroxysms of rage, threatening to put his Orders instantly into execution by force, and not only to deprive the Nabob of Tanjore, but of all effectual authority in the Carnatick, and reduce him to the state of a mere Dubash. He represented himself as possessed of absolute Power in his Government; as appointed in despite of the King and Administration; he even boasted to the Nabob, that he was the cause of the Orders to restore the Country to the Rajah, —was selected out to execute them; and that he was determined to do it at all events.—When neither menace or intreaty could prevail, he had recourse to promises; he engaged to secure the Succession to the Carnatick for one Son, to give the Northern Circars to another, and the Dominions of Hyder Ally to a third. The alternative of his friendship or enmity, was held out in every light that could raise the Nabob's hopes, or give the alarm to his fears: His Sons, his Ministers, his Confidants were continually beset;—and almost every individual of his family, and dependent in his Court, biassed by expectation or dread, at length endeavoured to persuade the Nabob to submit. When his Lordship resolved to try the effect of the Nabob's fears, particular attention was paid to his eldest Son, whom the Orders of the Company had in a manner pointed out as his Successor. It is needless to explain
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the apprehensions this must create in the Nabob for his personal safety ; for it is well known, that in Indostan, to point out and countenance a Successor to a Reigning Prince, is to put a poniard into the hand of that Successor, and of every Court dependant, ready to strike at the Prince on the Throne.

To the utter mortification and disappointment of his Lordship, the Nabob, however, continued steadfast in his refusal, determined at all events totally to with-hold his consent till Answers should arrive from England to his claims of Right, and representations of the Injustice he suffered in being deprived of Tanjore. When his Lordship found the Nabob immoveable by his private threats, intreaties, or promises, he seems to have determined to bring in aid the Public menaces of the Board, to convince him that They also were determined to restore the Rajah by force, without regard to his Claims. His first Object was, to obtain the Nabob's immediate Consent to admit the Company's Garrison into Tanjore.—He might perhaps have been strictly warranted by his Orders to effect this by violence ; and therefore the public steps taken to convince the Nabob of the Board's determination to exert their coercive power in this instance, might be warrantable ; but the true meaning was, to convey a persuasion, that They would exert the same violence, to compel his obedience to every other part of the Company's Instructions relative to Tanjore. The dread of the general bad consequences that might arise to him, from this appearance of enmity on the part of the English nation, it was imagined, might induce him to acknowledge a Voluntary compliance, so ardently sought by his Lordship. On the 22d of January Lord Pigot seems to have first adopted, or first determined on, this Plan. In discussing the 3d Article, it has been shewn

shewn what circumstances probably brought him to this decision on that particular day, viz. the Nabob's determination, in writing, not to give his consent to the placing the Government and Country of Tanjore in the hands of the Rajah till the Company's further pleasure should be known, and requesting that his Lordship would till then suspend the execution of his Orders; on which condition he would voluntarily admit his Garrison into Tanjore. We have seen that this request was treated as a proposal tending to draw an implied promise from the Board, that the Country should remain in his (the Nabob's) Management and Possession *for ever*: His Letter stating his real proposal was secreted; and on the ground that his supposed proposal could not be listened to, a part of the British Army was directed to be held in readiness to take the Field, in order, it was said, *to lose no time*, whilst his Lordship should again endeavour to obtain the Nabob's Consent.—From the effect which this menacing Resolution had on the Nabob, it will easily be judged, whether, *to lose no time*, was the sole object of procuring this Order.

THE introduction of his Lordship's Minute of the 22d of January merits particular attention: It amounts to this; That in spite of his many repeated endeavours to obtain the Nabob's voluntary and unconditional consent to relinquish Tanjore, he had hitherto been unsuccessful. All his daily intreaties, promises, and threats, from his arrival in December to the 22d of January, had been wholly ineffectual;—and yet (surprising to tell,) in three days only; from the 22d to the 25th of January, he hit upon some, till then, unthought-of argument, to induce the Consent he had been so long labouring to obtain.—On the 25th, his Lordship calls a Council, and communicates to them as follows:

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“ The Right Honourable the President acquaints the Board, that
 “ he has received assurances from the Nabob, that he will give
 “ immediate Orders for the removal of all his Troops from Tan-
 “ jore, except 1000 Seapoys, who will remain in that Fort, un-
 “ til the same be garrisoned by the Company's Troops, agreeably
 “ to the Letter which he has this morning received from him,
 “ the Translation of which is as follows:”

“ I HAVE read the Company's Orders sent along with you, and
 “ I have answered them in my Letter of ——— January 1776.
 “ I am satisfied to admit the Company's Garrison into Tanjore;
 “ and you may order them to march into it the 15th day, reck-
 “ oning from this date; and I will order my Troops to leave
 “ that place.”

WHAT was the subject of that interview, in which his Lord-
 ship prevailed on the Nabob so suddenly and unconditionally to
 yield his consent to what had been so long, and by so many va-
 rious arts, in vain before attempted, is not very difficult to con-
 jecture. The dread of the menace held out to him in the last
 mentioned Resolution of the Board, and the use his Lordship made
 of it to convince his Highness, that he was determined to expel
 his troops by force, if he any longer withheld the required con-
 sent, will alone account for this event.

SUCH a Menace from the first Executive officer of the Govern-
 ment amounts of itself to an Act of violence; and therefore,
 though the Nabob, always meant, and freely offered, to admit
 the Company's Garrison, on condition that their Orders relative
 to the Country should be suspended; yet following the plan he
 had

had laid down to himself of passively submitting to any act of violence his Lordship might commit, he, on this menace, unconditionally agreed to withdraw his Troops from Tanjore; still, however, reserving his Claims of Right.

SUCCESSFUL in this attempt, his Lordship seems to have entertained better hopes of compelling the Nabob's general consent to his dispossession of Tanjore. The same round of intreaty, promise and menace was again employed, and this determination of the Board to execute the Company's Instructions at all events, no doubt, held out *in terrorem*; at least we must suppose, from the Letters of the Nabob, requesting his Lordship would not interfere in the Government and Collections of the Tanjore Country, that this had been the subject of their conversations;—because these letters seem to originate only from what passed in those conversations.—Such is the Nabob's Letter of the 26th of February, read the 11th of March; his Lordship's Answer to which conveys an implied threat, by asserting in one place, “*That the Orders of the Company are, to restore the Country of Tanjore to the Rajah;*” and, in another, “*That certain Circumstances before detailed, made it absolutely necessary to carry into immediate Effect the Orders of the Company.*” And yet, so artful is his Lordship to draw even an implied Consent from the Nabob, that, after using this menace, which he no doubt thought would induce him to a compliance from the fear of consequences, which he had already experienced in the case of admitting the Company's Garrison;—after using this menace, I say, he converts it, in a manner, into a request, where he says, “*I must therefore beg leave to repeat my request, that you will give an Order, directed to all your Amildars, &c. in the Tanjore Country, to relinquish all manner of au-*

“thority, when called upon by me so to do.”—Had the Nabob complied from the dread of the menace, his compliance would have been deemed the consequence of his Lordship’s request, and his great point, by these means, been artfully brought about.

THE resolution of the Nabob was however unalterably fixed: On the 22d. of March he answered his Lordship’s Letter, firmly adhering to his former determination, of withholding his Consent, till the Answers to his Appeal to England should be received. His Lordship then resolves on one Public trial more; and accordingly, in his Reply of the same date, by authority from the Board, he gives the Nabob very roundly to understand, that he must entertain no hopes of succeeding in his request, for that the Board were fully resolved instantly to deprive him of the Tanjore Country, either with or without his Consent.

In this Letter his Lordship again insinuates to the Nabob, that the Orders relative to Tanjore were approved by his Majesty’s Ministers; and then proceeds: “Let me intreat your Highness
“to call to your remembrance the difficulties you were able to
“encounter, when your friends’ power was united with your
“own; remember that union was in the cause of justice, and in
“that cause only can they be united. What consequences may
“attend even the appearance of a disunion? My Masters gave
“you their support, when you were alike destitute of money and
“of power.—They will continue their support to you, but the
“public faith is pledged to the Rajah of Tanjore, as well as to
“your Highness, and the orders to me are, *That the Country of*
“*Tanjore shall be again put into the possession of the Rajah.* What
“words shall I use to induce your Highness to make this your
“own.

"own act, if all the Arguments I have been able to suggest
 "have not had their proper force? and with what an aching
 "heart*, after acting with you through so many difficulties, shall
 "I now carry into effect the Company's Orders by their Autho-
 "rity alone? The World will justify me in the obedience I
 "shew to the commands of my masters; and having never failed
 "in the part of friendship, in respect, and in propriety of behavi-
 "our towards you, I trust I shall now stand excused, after the
 "pressing manner I have so often urged your Highness, to do that
 "which is right and proper, as well respecting your Interest as your
 "Dignity."

NOTHING can more forcibly express his Lordship's earnest
 desire to gain the Nabob's Consent than this Letter: He holds out
 to him every persuasive argument;—the total impossibility of a re-
 vocation of the Orders,—menace, intreaty,—the alternative of the
 friendship or enmity of the English;—and even adverts to the se-
 cret promises formerly made him; I mean the accession of the
 Territories of Hyder for one Son; the Northern Circars for ano-
 ther; the security to his Family of the uninterrupted succession
 to the Carnatick;—circumstances these, which might more than
 counterbalance the loss of Tanjore;—and on such Terms to give
 his free assent, would indeed be to do what is right and proper, as
 well respecting his Interest as his Dignity. The concluding part of
 his Lordship's Letter either means this, or it means nothing; for
 how otherwise could it be for the Nabob's Interest to divest him-

* How absolutely destitute of all the nicer feelings, how totally dark in mental
 blindness must that Reader be, who does not perceive that these words are wet
 with his Lordship's tears!

self of the most valuable part of his Dominions, or for his *Dignity* to endure the triumphs of a Tributary Rajah, and sink in the estimation of all the neighbouring Powers, from the exalted and envied state of the lawful Sovereign of the Carnatick, and the friend and Ally of the King of Great Britain, to the low and despicable condition of a dupe to the Servants of the Company, subject to be injured and insulted on every occasion for the gratification of their avarice or caprice.

THE Nabob, however, still continued steadfast, as will appear by his Answer of the 25th of March; in consequence of which his Lordship framed the Resolution passed that day in Council, to divest him of Tanjore at all events, and in despite of his remonstrances. Though this decided Measure was thus publicly taken, still his Lordship did not cease to importune the Nabob for his consent; but as his apprehensions increased with the near approach of the execution of this Measure, his menaces, his intreaties, his promises were again, with unwearied assiduity, alternately employed in every quarter, even to the hour of his departure for Tanjore: His Son, and almost every person about him, were so agitated by their hopes and fears, so misled from their real interests, that they were at length urgent with him to give his consent:—Nothing but the clearest sense of his rights, and his firm reliance on the justice of the English Nation, could have supported the Nabob under these various powerful attacks.

THE FIFTH ARTICLE

His care to record, in the most public manner, any instance of the Nabob's Consent to any part of the Instructions of the Company.

THIS care certainly bespeaks the great value he placed on every such instance of consent. Proofs of this appear on the Proceedings of the 25th of January; where, in the President's Minute, in the Letter from the Nabob, and in that to him, his consent to admit the Company's Troops into Tanjore is mentioned: These are carefully entered on the face of the public proceedings on the Diary; whilst, as we have before seen, the very material Letter from the Nabob of the 22d January, is in a manner suppressed: It is not entered on the Diary, but darkly referred to in the separate Book of Country Correspondence. This Consent is again mentioned in the President's Minute of the 26th of January, and again repeated in that of the 13th of February, when a Motion was made to return the Nabob public thanks, and compliment him with a Present for this Instance of his friendship and attachment to the East India Company.

THE SIXTH ARTICLE

His attempts to suppress from the Public knowledge and inspection such representations and remonstrances from the Nabob, as would discover, that the execution of the Measures depriving him of the Tanjore Country, were not only without his Consent, but in open defiance of his Claims of Right, and in direct opposition to his most earnest and repeated intreaties for the Suspension of those measures.

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THESE attempts clearly mark the danger he felt in proceeding to wrest from the Nabob by violence, what he claimed and insisted upon as his incontestable Right.

IN discussing the 3d Article, I have stated his Lordship's silence to the Governor General and Council on the subject of the Nabob's Letters, his Offers, and Remonstrances, as one instance or proof of his Arts to prevent any steps that might lead to a nice inquiry regarding the tenour of the Company's Orders, and of the possibility of suspending them. The same secrecy and disregard of the positive Injunctions contained in the late Act of Parliament relative to India, afford also strong presumption of the design here attributed to his Lordship, as contained in the Article now under consideration. The intention of the Legislature is very clearly marked in the words of the Act: They knew it would be impossible either for a Minister, or any of his Delegates, to peruse the whole of the Company's voluminous records, in order to extract such parts of them as they meant to lay under their immediate inspection; it was therefore necessary to commit all such transactions in India as related to the objects of their attention in one particular volume; and the Records of the Governor General and Council were intended to answer this purpose. Exclusive of the facility this collection must afford them in examining the conduct of the Company, they had the farther advantage of benefiting by the opinions of a set of men, selected for their various talents and qualities, and from their situation totally disinterested and dispassionate with respect to the transactions of the other two Presidencies. For these reasons, I presume, the Act directs those Presidencies constantly and diligently to transmit to the Governor General and Council, advice and intelligence of
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all transactions and matters whatsoever, that shall come to their knowledge, relating to the Government, Revenues, and Interest of the Company: The Governor General and Council, in their turn, are to transmit Advices to the Court of Directors, who within fourteen days are to communicate those advices to the King's Ministers. The arrangements in the Offices at Calcutta correspond with the evident Intentions of the Legislature; all Acts relating to the Government and Policy of that Presidency, with all the Correspondence with the other Presidencies, are kept separate in one particular volume.

LORD Pigot seems to have felt the danger of suffering his transactions to appear on such public Records; as the Nation in general might then have known that, without one positive Order from the Company, he had dispossessed the Nabob of Tanjore, not only without his consent, but in defiance of his claims of Right, supported by the National Guarantee, and in direct opposition to his reasonable and moderate request to suspend the Restoration of the Rajah, only till the result of his Appeal to England should be known.—Had this Appeal been stated to the Governor General and Council, it would perhaps also have appeared that his Lordship proceeded to these violent acts, without any views of benefit to the Company, and at the hazard of all their Possessions, then alarmed with the apprehensions of a War with France and with the Morattoes. If his assertions and insinuations regarding the Minister were not well founded, this abuse of his name would pass under his immediate inspection; in a word, if it should thereafter be proved, that the Consent of the Nabob was requisite to the execution of his Lordship's designs; and that knowing this, he proceeded, without that consent, violently to
deprive

deprive him of his Rights, in despite of recommendations to the contrary from the Governor General and Council, these would be treasured upon the Records, and afford ample matter of Parliamentary impeachment; and therefore he most studiously endeavoured to suppress from the knowledge of the Public, such representations and remonstrances of the Nabob as might tend to prove any accusations against him. It is a fact not to be controverted, that the Governor General and Council were never particularly informed of the transactions of the Presidency, conformably to the requisition and letter of the Act, till the whole of the proceedings from his Lordship's arrival was submitted to them by the Majority of the Council at Madrafs, which at last formed itself to oppose his violences.

His secreting for a time the contents of the Nabob's Letter of the 22d of January, may also be brought as another proof of this Article. With that Letter in his hand, asserting the Nabob's Right to Tanjore, representing the injustice of the Company's Orders, and requesting a suspension of them, Lord Pigot procured the Resolution of the Board for part of the British Army to take the field. The extraordinary operation of this Measure has already been taken notice of; it brought about in two days only, an unconditional Consent to receive the Company's Garrison into Tanjore, which his Lordship had been soliciting in vain for upwards of a Month. It has also been observed, how far the menace which this Measure implies may be deemed an act of violence: If it is admitted to be so, and his Lordship at the time of committing it, was known to be in possession of the Nabob's Letter of the 22d of January, it was, notwithstanding his apparent Consent, an infringement of the Rights claimed by him, in despite

despite of his representations and remonstrances to the contrary; and therefore the concealment of this Letter till after his consent had been obtained, and entering it in that order on the Record, may fairly be brought in proof of this Article, as an artful attempt to hide from the Public the representations and remonstrances of the Nabob as therein charged.

THE SEVENTH ARTICLE.

His great care to make every act tending to the forcible dispossession of the Nabob the unanimous Acts of his Council.

IT seems to have been his Lordship's original Intention, entirely to have executed his Designs relative to Tanjore, without the aid of the Board; for, till he found that the firm refusal of the Nabob to give his Consent, rendered acts of violence requisite to the attainment of his ends, he did not even make any public report of the result of his different conversations with him:—When such Acts became necessary, whether to enforce the Consent he was so solicitous to obtain, or to effect his determinations without it; aware of the delicate ground he trod on, he was very anxious to procure the sanction of the Board, and to lessen his personal responsibility, by making every act tending to the forcible dispossession of the Nabob the unanimous Acts of the Council.

THIS recourse to the authority of the Board in acts of violence is the more worthy of observation, and the more strongly marks his own sense of the impropriety of such acts, when it is
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known, that, although apparently Public, yet they are in reality solely the acts of his Lordship.—He is mentioned by the Company in their Instructions as selected for the execution of this particular Measure; and, on this ground, he assumed to himself the right of acting in it independent of the Council; who, from that very circumstance, supposing him entirely possessed of the Intentions of the Company, silently acquiesced in every step of his conduct, whilst he confined himself solely to those apparent Intentions, as the Instructions were then understood. The whole of the public proceedings, from his arrival till his departure from Tanjore, sufficiently proves this: Until the 22d of January he was totally silent to the Board on the subject and result of his different conversations with the Nabob; and though he on that day alludes to them as having been reported, yet nothing on this head appears on Record.—His intreaties, his menaces, his promises, and all his arts to win the Nabob's consent, seem intended to have been kept perfectly secret;—all his subsequent numerous conferences were never revealed to the Council;—he only applied to their Authority when he found it necessary either to enforce his private menaces and arguments, or to secure their sanction, when he thought it requisite to proceed to violence; and then the Measures to be pursued were predetermined;—the Minutes brought in ready-framed merely to be approved;—not a single debate passed on any one point previous to his departure, except on some merely relative to the Powers he was to carry out with him: So far from paying the Council only the compliment of considering what was to be done, it appears that he took several definitive steps, and then, some days after, procured from the Board their sanction and approval, as appears by his Letter to the Nabob of the 6th of March, laid before the Board on the
11th,

11th, which contains the first public and positive declaration of their determination to dispossess the Nabob of Tanjore, without regard to his claims of Right.—And for the general proof of his attention to shield himself with the authority of the Board, when violence appeared requisite, I refer to the Minute and Resolution of the 22d of January ;—to his correspondence with the Nabob, conveying the public Menaces heretofore alluded to ;—and finally to his Lordship's Minute of the 25th of March, where, not content with procuring a Resolution that he should proceed to Tanjore to execute the Orders of the Company, he makes them again define precisely what those Orders are : The Minute says, “ The President judging from the letters of the Nabob, that he will not give his consent to our carrying into execution the Orders of the Company with respect to Tanjore ; and the state of the Crops in that Country not admitting any farther delay, He, the President, has ordered Palanquin Boys on the road, and, with the approbation of the Board, will set out for Tanjore, to carry the Company's Orders into effect, by placing the Rajah of Tanjore in the full possession and management of the Country.”—Had his Lordship believed, that it was indeed the Order and Intentions of his Employers to deprive the Nabob of Tanjore without his consent, this precise definition would seem here wholly unnecessary, as the tenour of these pretended Orders had already been frequently and amply acknowledged by the Board ; but the dangerous delicacy of the act he was about to perform recurring more forcibly to him the nearer he approached to the execution of it, his anxiety to screen himself from the consequences seems to have increased in proportion ; and he felt it necessary to secure from the Board the most public, ample, and

unreserved authority to a Measure, which at all events he had predetermined to execute.

EXCEPT in the instance where the approval of the Board comes subsequent to his execution of the Measure, there is not a more striking proof on Record than the above Minute, that the Acts relative to dispossessing the Nabob of the Tanjore Country were really and solely the Acts of his Lordship. He had predetermined to proceed to Tanjore; and when every thing was ready, he brings in a prepared Minute communicating his intention, which says, "The state of the Crops in that country not admitting farther delay, He, the President, has ordered Palanquin Boys on the road, and, with the approbation of the Board, will proceed to Tanjore, &c." Then follows a string of Minutes and Resolutions relative to his other different Views, all ready-framed, and waiting only the sanction of the Council, as a mere matter of course.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE.

His attention to collect and record every circumstance tending in the least to justify the before-mentioned Acts, although the unanimous Acts of the Council.

WHATEVER authority he might receive from the Board for the execution of Acts tending to the violent dispossession of the Nabob in despite of his remonstrances and claims of right, yet feeling, from the particular confidence reposed in him, that he alone

alone must in a great degree be ultimately responsible, he shewed particular attention to collect and record every circumstance tending in the least to justify these Acts, though passed unanimously by the Council.

THE first proof that occurs of this, appears in his Minute of the 13th of February, where he observes that the circumstances in which the Rajah of Tanjore was, differed very much from what was supposed in England, where it was imagined that the Rajah was a Prisoner in Trichinopoly, garrisoned by the Company's Troops, instead of being at Tanjore, where We had no Troops, and the Nabob had a Garrison of more than 8000 men.*

IN this Minute his Lordship seems to have two different views, both of them connected with the motive attributed to him in this Article.

THE first was, to justify the apparently violent steps he had taken to procure the Nabob's unconditional consent to admit the Company's Garrison into Tanjore. The positive Orders of the Company are, *That the Council should take the most effectual measures, without loss of time, for securing the Person of the King of Tanjore, and forthwith appoint him a proper Guard for his protection, and also for the protection of his Family.* If Lord Pigot was really the dictator of this part of the Company's Instructions, knowing, as he must know, the humane disposition of the Nabob, he did

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 56.

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him singular injustice in the reflection it conveys; more especially if we consider what was then the supposed situation of the Rajah. The Directors, it seems, understood that he was a Prisoner in Trichinopoly; where we have a garrison; where the Nabob has no troops; and where of course he must have been safe;—yet, as if apprehensive of what might happen to him from the Nabob when their Intentions should be known, the Directors seem anxious for his personal safety, and direct that a Guard be instantly appointed for the protection of him and his Family. If such were their apprehensions for him in Trichinopoly, what must they have thought of his danger in Tanjore; where, his Lordship observes, we have no troops, and the Nabob had a Garrison of 8000 men? The anxiety expressed for the Rajah, combined with the positive Order for the security of his Person, and the dangerous situation this Minute places him in, might have been sufficient ground to have forcibly introduced our Garrison into Tanjore without the Nabob's Consent; and his Lordship thought would fully warrant his Order *for the British army to take the field*, with the view of intimidating the Nabob into an Unconditional cession of his Rights.

His other view in this Minute seems to have been to justify the apprehensions which had been raised of the independent views of the Nabob; Why else should he so particularly state his force and situation at Tanjore; where he observes *we had no troops*, and the Nabob had *a Garrison of more than 8000 men*? These independent views of the Nabob were perhaps held out as a motive for issuing the Directions relative to Tanjore, and every thing that seemed a confirmation of them would tend to justify the violent dispossession of his Highness. His Lordship again dwells

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on this subject in his Letter to the Governor General and Council, and states it in a manner which may serve to confirm the justness of the foregoing conjecture. He says—"The Rajah
 " being a Prisoner in Tanjore, and that Fort garrisoned by full
 " 8000 of the Nabob's troops, it has taken time to prevail with
 " the Nabob to enable us to comply with the directions we have
 " received from the Company." Who would not imagine that the hesitation of the Nabob to admit an English Garrison at Tanjore proceeded from the Idea of maintaining himself in that Country independent of the English; and from the sense of his ability to do it by means of the Force he had purposely collected there? And how unjust was it to convey so false a notion; when his Lordship knew, that the delay on the part of the Nabob proceeded only from a caution of acquiescing in any act that might be construed into a voluntary cession of his Right, and from his desire to suspend the execution of the Company's Orders till their further pleasure should be known?

IN different Letters to the Nabob, Lord Pigot has been careful to record circumstances and assertions, evidently with no other view than to the purpose here attributed to him.—In his Letter to the Nabob of the 6th of March, he says, "Humanity to the wretched Inhabitants, distressed beyond measure
 " by the miserable state in which the Country now remains,
 " without any established Government, either of your Highness
 " or of the Rajah, Justice to the Rajah who is scarcely better
 " than a Prisoner still, and attention to the Public, make it absolutely necessary to carry into immediate effect the Orders of
 " the Company *." The intent of this studied Declamation is

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 81.

so evident that it requires no comment. The Nabob's Answer of the 22d of March, and the state of the Rajah, as it appears, as well from his own Letter as from the Report of Colonel Harper, will manifest how little regard his Lordship has here shewn either to truth or justice.

IN his Letter of the 22d of March, he tells the Nabob, as one reason for proceeding without delay to dispossess him of Tanjore, "That the Public faith is pledged to the Rajah." This consideration might be used as one circumstance to justify his disregard to the supposed Rights and Remonstrances of the Nabob; but admitting, that the public Faith was pledged to the Rajah, no particular time, it is to be observed, (as his Lordship acknowledges to the Nabob) was limited for his Restoration; and the ground of the Argument here made use of, was created by his Lordship, who, determined at all events to accomplish his views, placed the Public faith here pledged to the Rajah, as a barrier to oppose any attempts for the suspension of his designs.

THE truth of these leading parts of his Lordship's conduct, which I have here selected as grounds to prove those surmises which gave rise to this Investigation, may be judged of from the foregoing detail. I shall now conclude this Inquiry, by stating the Inferences fairly deducible from them.

THE general supposition I set out with was this. That whatever might be their Intention with respect to Tanjore, the Gentlemen of the Direction were tender of depriving the Nabob of that Country in open disregard to his claims of Right;—that
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for this reason they had issued no positive Orders to that effect ; that Lord Pigot knew this, yet was determined at all events to dispossess the Nabob, and restore the Rajah.

THIS knowledge, and this design, may be justly inferred from those parts of his Lordship's conduct alledged in proof of them: He was conscious of the defect of positive authority, but it was necessary that the Council should be impressed with a different persuasion: This was the cause of " His great assiduity " to convince them, that the Company's Instructions relative to " Tanjore contained the most positive and indispensable Orders to " restore the Rajah and dispossess the Nabob." This was the substance of his first declarations to them both at the Board, and from it ; whilst, on the other hand, his own diffidence appears from " His caution, on certain occasions, not to express himself " positively on this point, but to confine himself strictly to the " letter of the Company's Instructions."

FROM this secret consciousness of the defect of positive Orders, naturally arose his apprehension of a discovery of such deficiency by the Members of the Council ;—and hence " His acts " to prevent any discussion which, by leading into too strict and " nice an enquiry regarding the Orders of the Company, might " reveal the true tenour of them, and the latitude they afforded " for delay in the execution ; and by these means frustrate the " predetermined design before attributed to him."—Feeling however, from the want of full authority, the delicacy of his situation, should he dispossess the Nabob without regard to his claims of Right, and determined at all events to dispossess him ; his next care was, to effect this in a manner which would either

leave him wholly blameless, or lessen his personal responsibility by drawing the whole Council into the same predicament with himself.

HENCE arose “ His laboured and artful attempts to draw
“ from the Nabob a Consent, either positive or implied, to the
“ restitution of Tanjore, which would *leave him wholly blameless* ;
“ and his care to record in the most public manner every instance
“ of the Nabob’s Consent to any part of the Company’s In-
“ structions.”

DOUBTFUL of obtaining this consent, he sought to lessen his *personal responsibility by drawing the Council into the same predicament with himself* ;—and for this purpose he eagerly embraced every opportunity to “ draw from them Public declarations, that
“ the Orders of the Company were *positive* for restoring the Rajah to the management and possession of the Tanjore country.” Hence also “ His solicitude to make every act tending
“ to the forcible dispossession of the Nabob, the unanimous Acts
“ of the Council.”

THERE is no part of his Lordship’s conduct that so clearly marks his sense of the insecurity of the ground he trod on in violently depriving the Nabob of Tanjore, as his great anxiety to draw from him a Consent to the Restoration of the Rajah. This could not proceed from any consideration of personal attachment to the Nabob,—of delicacy respecting the infringement of his Rights—of regard to his consequence with, and authority over, his own subjects,—or of the respect which his Alliance with us procured him from the neighbouring Powers :—A long series of unjust and disgraceful violence towards the Nabob, clearly evinces that

that he attended to neither of these objects. Whence then, if he was conscious of being authorized by the Orders of the Company, that profusion of unwarrantable menaces, of promises that he could never perform, of degrading acts and intreaties, to obtain a consent wholly unnecessary to him?

I CAN only answer this question in his Lordship's own words to the Nabob:—"If I execute this measure without your consent, I may be ruined; my house, my park, may be forfeited;—but I am determined to execute it at all events." These words are alledged by the Nabob to have fallen from his Lordship in one of their many conversations, wherein menace, promise, intreaty, and even tears, were in vain employed to obtain this consent.

IF these words expressed the real feelings of his Lordship, they would render all discussion on this subject wholly unnecessary, as there would then be an ample confession of all I have attempted to prove. If he was conscious that his Measures were intended solely for the Public good, this could not be the case; because his Lordship must have a better knowledge of the justice and humanity of the British Legislature, than to suppose that, when such intention was evinced, they would involve any man in ruin merely for errors in judgment. Still the *words* mark a most singular earnestness to obtain the consent of the Nabob; and *actions* equally forcible combine to render the supposition possible, that his Lordship might feel, in as strong a manner as he here expresses himself, the danger of *violently wresting* from the Nabob; Rights guaranteed by his own Sovereign, without the authority of a *positive Order*.

WHEN the deed was done, and Lord Pigot returned from Tanjore, the Ameer ul Omrah paid his respects to him at the Mount. His Lordship affected to be greatly irritated with the Nabob on account of a Letter his Highness had written to him during his expedition, complaining of wanton infringements of his Rights, in direct disobedience even to the Orders of the Company relative to Tanjore. He was so displeased with some parts of this Letter, that he emphatically declared, "The Nabob has stuck a knife in my back; I will never forgive him, nor ever see him again on friendly terms." The young Nabob expressing much concern on the occasion, hoped that as the business was now over, the General good would induce his Lordship to calm his resentment; and assured him that his Highness should pay him the first visit.—This visit was accordingly paid. Foreseeing that the dread of his resentment might conduce to his grand view, the visit was returned, and every thing apparently forgot: In the course of conversation, his Lordship told the Nabob it would be requisite that he should write him a proper Letter on the occasion of his return, the purport of which he would then dictate; and accordingly with his pencil he wrote as follows.*

" I AM happy at my friend's return. I forgive you for every thing you have done. The man who is faithful to his master will ever be so with his friend. Now you have finished the Company's business, I hope you will not forget mine.—I will lay before you the whole state of my affairs, and I desire your assistance

* The Original in Lord Pigot's Hand-writing, is now in the Possession of the Nabob.

" assistance to settle them to the satisfaction of the Company,
 " that I may be happy."—7th May, —76.

THIS paper was left with the Nabob, and his Lordship concluded the Business was completed. He might have two views in this Letter; one, perhaps, to prevent any future complaints from the Nabob, on account of his transactions in the Tanjore Country; but the leading one was to avert the dangers, he feared, might ensue to him, from his persisting to deprive the Nabob of that Country, in open defiance of his claims of Right; and from his attempts to preclude him from all chance of redress, by his refusal to suspend the execution of this measure, by deferring it till the departure of all the ships of that season, and leaving the Nabob till then uncertain of his final intentions, he had hitherto prevented any formal complaints on this subject; and by enforcing this Letter, he hoped to preclude them entirely;—for how could the Nabob complain against him for acts that he had so expressly approved!—This Letter was of the last importance to his Lordship; it was almost equal to an express Consent from the Nabob; and the motives of withholding such consent might have been explained away:—Instead of being attributed to a proper and becoming feeling for his honor, and his Rights, or to a desire to avert the ruin which hung over him, his tenacity would have been deemed mere art, to divert his Lordship from what he, the Nabob, allowed to be his Duty; for this approval would have been glaringly inconsistent with the tenour of his former remonstrances, and with those sentiments that gave rise to them. Relying on the receipt of the Letter he had so ingeniously planned, he triumphed in his own security, and hugged himself in the idea of having over-reached the Nabob.—But great

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as his joy might be in this flattering hope, it bore no proportion to his disappointment and mortification, on the Nabob's ultimate refusal to write the Letter.—Suspicious of him from his former conduct, the Nabob took time to weigh its contents, and clearly perceiving their tendency, he refused his consent to an action so injurious to his honor, and so destructive of his Rights:—This threw his Lordship into absolute despair, and, quitting all thoughts of persuasion, he seems to have determined to have recourse to compulsion alone.—All those personal indignities, which form part of the Nabob's public complaints against him, soon ensued, and particularly that violent menace of placing Guards at his Durbar, which drove him to apply to Sir Edward Hughes for the protection of his Majesty's Flag.

ALL these circumstances, combined with his anxiety to procure the Nabob's Consent to the deprivation of Tanjore, readily lead me to a belief of what has been surmised, that his Lordship felt, as strongly as he expressed himself on the occasion, the danger of proceeding without such consent;—for if he knew there was no positive Order to deprive the Nabob of Tanjore in direct disregard of his claims of Right, he must have known the Directors themselves were diffident of doing it; and therefore his perseverance, without even waiting for the result of the Nabob's Appeal, might involve his ruin, *and endanger his House and his Park*; more especially as, on a fair discussion, it would be difficult to convince the world, that he was actuated solely by zeal for the Public good.

IN this discussion, the first object that presents itself, is the state of the Nabob's affairs. It is a well known fact, that from
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being involved in a state of constant warfare, the expences of the Nabob have exceeded his Revenues, and that he must consequently be loaded with debt ;—This debt pressed so heavy on him, that, in or about the year 1767, the Company were obliged to interpose their Authority for his relief, and direct a reduction of interest on all sums borrowed of private persons.—The unfortunate and expensive War against Hyder Ally, and his agreement to pay the Company Ten lacks of Pagodas, in part of their expences incurred in that War, increased his burthen.—In 1771, the charges of the Expedition against Tanjore occasioned an increase of debt.—The stipulations of the Rajah would have defrayed this latter charge had they been observed, but as they were broken, that Expedition added to his incumbrances.—In 1775, the final Reduction of Tanjore was resolved on, and all the expences of that War, as well for our Troops as his own, fell on the Nabob, besides a donation of 12 Lacks of Pagodas to the Army, of 10 to the Company, of 3 Lacks to clear a certain district, pledged by the Rajah to the Dutch, and of 10 Lacks for Lands assigned to the Danes, and other European Powers.—In a word, he cleared off almost all the Debts due from the Rajah when Tanjore was reduced.—To guard that Country, and to increase our mutual force, he, at the recommendation of the Governor and Council, raised some Regiments of Horse, and agreed to pay three more Battalions of Sepoys for the Company. This is but a very general statement of the increase of his debts; the particulars of which are enumerated in his different Letters to Lord Pigot, where he states these debts, and the cause of them, as one argument for suspending the execution of the supposed Instructions of the Company relative to Tanjore.

THE capture of this Country in 1773, opened to the Nabob a prospect of relief from all his distresses, and therefore his credit became unbounded:—All the Loans he required for the purpose of reducing Tanjore, or for other purposes, were readily furnished him, as it was not then conceived he could ever be dispossessed of that acquisition.—With these loans he reduced his debt to the Company, and his old Bond Debt at 10 *per Cent*, paid the donations to the Army, and discharged the mortgages on the Tanjore Country, &c.—According to the custom of India, the growing Revenues of the ensuing Year were all anticipated, and Assignments given on Tanjore, and the rest of the Carnatic;—and his Troops in general were above six Months in Arrears.—The report of the Orders Lord Pigot was to bring with him, had so totally destroyed the Nabob's credit, and given people such general alarm for their property, that every one became anxious to withdraw that money out of his hands, which they had before been so desirous to employ with him:—Not a loan was talked of, except the sum of 125,000 Pagodas, advanced at the pressing solicitation of the Nabob, to pay to Lord Pigot's Attorney; and for which he was obliged to pawn his Jewels, scarce able by any other means to raise a Pagoda.

SUCH was the state of the Nabob's finances on the arrival of Lord Pigot in India;—his Troops in Arrears, his creditors pressing; his standing Expences and the Interest of his debt greatly exceeded his remaining Revenues when deprived of Tanjore, and the greatest part of these Revenues were anticipated for the ensuing Year;—and, with an exhausted treasury, he was deeply in debt to the Company, both on old Accounts, and for his Kist:—The prospect became daily worse and worse, without any hopes of relief

lief but from the suspension of that Measure, the very report of which had occasioned his distress.—This is no exaggerated picture: Lord Pigot in part subscribes to the truth of it something later than this period, where he says, in his Letter of the 28th of March, “That no dependence can be had on the Nabob for resources.”—It was to avert this impending ruin, that the Nabob so earnestly intreated Lord Pigot to wait till the Orders of the Company should be known:—Even the approaching Collections would have been a great relief to him;—his seven Regiments of horse would have been paid, his debt greatly reduced.—This might have been done consistent with justice, as well as with the Intentions, and even with the Instructions of the Company.—It was certainly meant that, with respect to Tanjore, the Nabob should at least be placed in *statu quo*.—The Company imagined that his Collections during the time he possessed the Country would do this;—the Nabob represented they did not:—This point might at least have been submitted back to the Court of Directors.—Nothing could be more fair than the propositions of the Nabob;—he offered to place, and did actually place, the Capital of Tanjore in our hands, as a security for his performing the final decisions of the Company, and for refunding the surplus of the intermediate receipts.—The Instructions of the Court of Directors at least permitted this Reference; for their caution in not issuing a positive Order, and the latitude with respect to the time of execution, had certainly some meaning.—If the interests of the Company were of no weight, gratitude, and justice to their first and most steadfast Ally, demanded this reconsideration; especially when it was found that their fears of his Independent views were wholly groundless; for, if ever such views existed, this was the Crisis for executing them.—I say nothing of the gratitude due

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from his Lordship to a Prince to whose benevolence solely he is indebted for his present Rank and Fortune. The motives were neither just, generous or humane, that could induce him to employ the Power derived from that benevolence, to crush his Benefactor, merely to raise a Man, to whom neither the Company or himself had any obligations.—Dependent as we ever must be on the finances of the Nabob for our resources in Military operations, our Political situation at this period would have pointed out to his Lordship the impropriety of destroying that resource, had not his fixed devotion to one particular object, hindered him from extending his regards to the general interests, and to the situation of the Company at that period, which still remains very critical and alarming from the probable intentions of our Neighbours.

THE unbounded ambition of Hyder Ally, his enmity to the English Nation, and his personal rivalry and antipathy to the Nabob are well known.—Of himself it is not probable that he will ever attack the Carnatic, because such a step must bring on a War of doubtful issue to him: He cannot conquer that Country; and in its distressed state, it will afford him no plunder equal to the evils he may sustain by the invasion of it. Connected with an European force, these objections no longer subsist;—his army, by ravaging the Carnatic, might distress all our Garrisons, whilst his own Country would amply furnish the army of his Allies:—Want and distress might effect the reduction of it, if force alone would not; and he seems to have had this situation in view, by his arrangements for depriving the Carnatic of all exterior aid and resource.

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THE petty Powers around might, if well connected with the Carnatic, contribute much to its defence, in case of a War with Hyder:—This we have experienced in the occasional aid of Morarow. At any rate the Dominions of Morarow, of Bassalet Jung, and of the Nabobs of Cudapah, and Kannoul, would be dangerous in the hands of such an enemy as Hyder:—By his Possessions he would surround the Carnatic in every accessible quarter, and have Magazines formed, from whence to supply the different armies he might march into it.

HYDER seemed sensible of this, and therefore, as a preparatory step, had bent his views to the acquisition of these different Countries.—Intelligence of these intentions were received from different quarters; they appear on Record, and might have alarmed his Lordship, had he been awake to any thing but his views on the Tanjore Country.

THERE subsisted however a more immediate cause of Alarm in the state of the Company's connections with the Morattoes. The Presidency of Bombay had engaged to support Ragoonat Row in his pretensions to the Paishwahship, apparently in opposition to the combined force of that Empire: On this ground the Governor General and Council had dissolved this Connection, and deputed Colonel Upton to conclude a pacification with the Ministerial party. Conditions were to be contended for, to which they might not agree, and in this case a War might probably ensue.—This was the state of things on his Lordship's arrival in India, and was surely of itself an object worthy of his attention; and, if his mind had not been absolutely devoted elsewhere, the distress and danger it might most probably lead to, must have occurred

to him, and prevented any steps tending to incapacitate us for action, at least until the result of Colonel Upton's Negotiation was known.—Some time before the final Resolution to wrest Tanjore from the Nabob, news was received of the probability and apprehensions of War; and the very day, I believe, on which that Resolution was taken, Advices arrived from the Governor General and Council, confirming this Report, and acquainting the Presidency of Madras, that a general attack on the Ministerial party was determined upon, and requesting they would co-operate with their forces.

THE apprehensions of a war with France, and their preparations at the Islands, have for some years past been causes of considerable alarm to the Company in India.—From the critical state of our affairs in England, from our defenceless situation in India, and the preparations of the French both at the Islands and Pondicherry, his Lordship himself thought their designs so probable, that though blind almost to every object but Tanjore, his apprehensions shewed themselves on his arrival, in his immediate inquiry into the state of the Fortifications of Fort St. George; yet though he seemed very sensible that no time should be lost in putting them in a proper state of defence, this consideration was soon lost, and, his attention wholly engaged on his Expedition to Tanjore, he never afterwards took any pains to compleat or forward the fortifications.

AT the time, then, that his Lordship determined to dispossess the Nabob of Tanjore, a Morattée war seemed certain, a French war was apprehended, and the more speedily, because the surmises respecting the views of Hyder became almost a certainty, by
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his reduction of Moratow, our Ally by Treaty, and by his fraudulent seizure of the Country of Bazalet Jung.—If the Public good had engaged the least share of his Lordship's attention, it certainly became him, at this critical juncture, to think very seriously of the means of averting these impending dangers, and of combating the difficulties which had so formidably made head against us.—And was this to be done by ruining the finances of our Ally, on whom our resources solely depended; and, by a signal act of cruel injustice, rendering the Man indifferent to our National success, whose neutrality must inevitably involve our ruin?

IN whatever light we view his conduct, it is difficult to reconcile it to motives either of Public good, or Public justice:—Justice to the Rajah is indeed the assigned reason for dispossessing the Nabob; but many circumstances lead one to believe this was not the true one: If Justice alone prevailed, why should it have lain near three years dormant, and only have awakened at the time of his Lordship's departure for India? Whatever might be his motives for promoting this Measure, I cannot but think that the unjust representations of the Independent views of the Nabob were the prevalent causes with those who adopted it.—If such views prevailed, Tanjore without an English Garrison was a dangerous accession of strength; but his Lordship must have been convinced that there was no real ground for this charge, and, in justice to the Nabob, he should have regulated himself by that Conviction.—The peaceable acquiescence of the Nabob at this juncture, may be regarded as a most unequivocal criterion of his attachment:—He saw the most valuable part of his Dominions on the point

point of being torn from him; and that distress, vexation, and ruin must be the immediate consequence. Tanjore might have afforded him a temporary asylum, had he determined to resist the Orders of the Company; and it is well known the French were ready to receive him on any terms, had he been inclined to separate himself from our Nation; but, in this instance, and, above all, in the many instances of his non-resistance of the unwarrantable violence of Lord Pigot, it was clear that the Nabob placed his reliance, not on his own strength, but, on the justice of the English Nation; and his only desire or attempt was, to suspend his ruin till the result of his Appeal to that justice could be known.

—If we may be allowed to suppose that views of private emolument influenced his Lordship, every part of his conduct then becomes perfectly consistent. He had heretofore wisely availed himself of the easy disposition, and unbounded liberality of the Nabob; but in the course of twelve years, during his Lordship's absence from India, fortunately for the true interests of the Company, the Nabob had by degrees emerged from the low state, in which his Lordship had left him, of a passive tool to every possessor of power, to some sense of Will independent of the Will of the Governor. But this was not all:—His Lordship saw too plainly, that the present exhausted state of the Nabob's finances, could not, under any influence, sufficiently gratify his Extensive prospects. When he turned to the Rajah, the scene was totally reversed:—A young man without experience, whom he was to replace on a Throne, might be taught to look up to his Lordship as his only support and protection,—to place absolute confidence in him,—in a word, to submit his Kingdom to his Lordship's intire disposal.—

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If not possessed of much treasure in specie, the women of his family had valuable Jewels, and the Rajah himself would come to the immediate possession of a vast Revenue unincumbered with debt, and almost free from every kind of charge or expence : The richest Crop this garden of India had ever produced, was then ripening on the ground, the unfailing source of immediate wealth. In point of splendid prospect, there was certainly no comparison, no choice, between the Guardianship of this young Prince, and the Friendship of the Nabob. If therefore mercenary inducements held the controul of his Lordship's conduct, the circumstance of the growing Crop rendered it impossible for him to listen to the Nabob's intreaty for the Suspension of this measure, till the golden harvest should be reaped by other hands.

EVERY subsequent step of his conduct corresponds with this prudent election, which his Lordship made of a Friend between the Nabob and the Rajah. The time from the 9th of December to the 30th of March, was almost wholly employed by his Lordship in endeavouring to persuade the Nabob voluntarily to relinquish his claim to Tanjore. If the Orders of the Company had been *positive*, all this was unnecessary, and the Measure might as well have been executed without the least delay ; however, in the month of March, it could be no longer deferred, because, to give his Lordship's own reason, "*The state of the Crop in that Country did not admit of any farther Delay.*"

UNLESS on the grounds above laid down, Lord Pigot's Expedition to Tanjore seems perfectly unaccountable. When Tanjore was taken, and the Country was to be given to the Nabob,

it was not thought requisite that the Governor of Madras should proceed to execute that Measure.—Although the Nabob would not voluntarily consent to relinquish his Right, yet it was well known he was determined not to make any forcible resistance to his Lordship's will;—a single Peon sent round by him to the Amildars, to inform them that they must account to the Rajah, or at most a Member of the Council, for the purpose of making the arrangements directed by the Company, would have been amply sufficient. Not even one instance of opposition was experienced, nor was any military force found requisite through the whole Expedition, except to seize by surprise some particular servants of the Nabob from a town in his own districts, for the purpose of getting possession of the Nabob's papers: Not one act of violence was requisite to expel from the Tanjore Country, that Army of more than 8000 men, of which such frequent and formidable mention had been made. It was deemed such an offence to disobey his Lordship's commands relative to Tanjore, that one would imagine not a subject of the Nabob's dared to appear openly in that Country:—Or where was the necessity for the Proclamation issued by his Lordship, and mentioned in the Nabob's complaints, *not to give Rice, or protection to any of his Servants?*

ON reasons of Public necessity, this Expedition, I repeat it, seems wholly unaccountable; but on private motives the propriety of it is evident. Had he not embraced the present opportunity of procuring an interview while the Rajah remained penetrated with the sense of the highest obligations to his Lordship, he could not, at any future time, have given him such forcible impressions of his personal consequence, and of his unlimited power

powers to protect and support him.—He could not through his Dubash, Mootoo Kistnah, have modelled the Durbar of the King of Tanjore, and placed about him creatures entirely under his own influence: Had he not proceeded to Tanjore, he could not, of his own authority, have seized for the Rajah, the grain mortgaged to, and even collected in by, the creditors of the Nabob; nor that assigned to his troops for the payment of their arrears, in breach of justice, and of his own promise. Unless for these purposes, his Expedition was wholly fruitless:—For he did not even settle any terms with the Rajah for the several arrangements directed by the Company, as their Conditions on which he was to be Restored.

THE hand of time is even now perhaps stretched out to draw the veil from the latent proceedings of this Expedition, and expose to Public view the secret transactions, which have rendered his Lordship by far the richest Adventurer in Europe.—While his influence remains at Tanjore, no entire satisfaction, no certain intelligence can easily be obtained; but there are some circumstances which corroborate very strongly with the facts alledged against him.

THE immense Crop on the ground was all seized for the Rajah;—but many large parcels of it were heaped ready for shipping:—And although the expences of his household were very inconsiderable, yet he found himself incapable of making any payments to the Company, and was soon afterwards obliged to borrow money of the Dutch;—so effectually had he been fleeced by our modern Jason, and his chosen Companions in this golden Expedition.

THE great earnestness which Lord Pigot expressed to purchase Grain from the Rajah, which it would certainly have been more proper to have received in part of his payments to the Company;—many known remittances from Tanjore to Mootoo Kistnah, his Dubash;—but, above all, the following instance of his earnestness to prevent any public inquiries leading to a discovery of the disposal of this Crop, are circumstances that carry little less conviction with them, than direct and positive proofs.

A MAJORITY having voted that the Crop on the ground was the property of the Nabob, it was settled in Council that his Lordship should write to the Rajah, and direct him to satisfy, from the produce of the Crop, those who had Tunkas on the Tanjore Country.—Not chusing directly to oppose this Resolution, he had recourse to a curious manœuvre, to prevent this application to the Rajah. The Nabob was publicly applied to by the Board for an account of these Tunkas, but privately his Lordship wrote to him to withhold the Account, at least until the decision regarding the Tunkas might arrive from England; and when he was pressed to declare his reasons for not complying with the Directions of the Board, by writing to the Rajah, he imputed the delay to the Nabob, in withholding the account which was previously requisite. This private letter is an incontrovertible proof of this charge. Nothing but his Lordship's apprehensions of an enquiry into the disposal of this Crop could possibly have made this artifice necessary.

IF his Lordship, regardless of honour and the public good, had only the gratification of his avarice in view, he has indeed much to answer for to his Country, and to his Employers;—
but,

but, whatever were the motives of his conduct, the consequences are equally to be lamented:—Had Tanjore remained to the Nabob, and had Lord Pigot made those arrangements for the payment of his Highness's Troops, and the discharge of his Debts, which justice, policy, and his own promise required, the distresses of the Nabob would not have been so great, and we might have looked to him for finances, and effectual aid in case of a Foreign attack; but by depriving him of this dependence, by ruining his credit, we must stand alone on the defensive, without any certain resources for the payment of our Troops, and totally destitute of Auxiliaries.—His seven Regiments of horse are in a manner annihilated, and not five hundred men could be equipped for service; the horses dead through mere want of sustenance; and such is the distress of the men, that the regiments are on the point of mutinying:—One of them marched down to Madrafs, and another was actually in arms. If Hyder Ally had intended to act against us in the opening of the last season, he might, with a few Pagodas, have turned against us the advantage of the discipline of these troops, and may still do so. The fidelity of the Nabob we may depend on; and had he not been involved in irretrievable distress, he would have been an useful Ally to resist those enemies, who are constantly watching a fit time to effect our ruin: But now, the standing charges of his government, and the interest of his vast debt, so much exceed his annual revenues, and he is so totally destitute of money, his troops and creditors so clamorous, that except some relief is soon afforded him from England, the Carnatic, deprived of all means of furnishing an army to take the field, must look to Bengal for assistance; and in case of a Foreign attack, or a necessity for any Military operations, must entirely depend on supplies from thence.——

—I have, at length, gone through my proposed Investigation, and from the facts established in the course of it, and the arguments drawn from those facts, have shewn that the plan of the Restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore being projected by Lord Pigot in Europe, his friends in the Direction, though earnestly solicitous for its success, were yet conscious they might expose themselves to a dangerous responsibility, should they issue *positive* Orders for the execution of the measure, in open violation of the Rights of the Nabob; and therefore cautiously framed their Instructions free from any such Order, relying on his Lordship's address, and supposed influence over the Nabob, to obtain from him such an approbation, express or implied, as would serve to indemnify them from all disagreeable consequences: But that his Lordship was nevertheless pre-determined to execute his plan at all events, should he fail in his various arts to obtain the Nabob's consent: And that these circumstances alone account for, and explain the whole of his Lordship's otherwise inexplicable conduct, from his arrival in India to his excursion to Tanjore.

THE arguments by which I have endeavoured to establish these material points, for ought I can, upon the strictest examination, perceive to the contrary, remain unrefuted, and materially unaffected by the reasonings of either of the writers on the other side. But this is a question which does not belong either to them or me to determine upon, but which must be left to the candid and impartial decision of the Public.

I SHALL next consider the most striking acts of his Lordship's extraordinary conduct, from the time of his departure to Tanjore, to the final event of his suspension, and endeavour to inva-

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litate or refute (as they shall come in my way) the most material charges brought by his *Advocate* against the Majority of the Council, on account of their opposition to his Lordship's violent Measures, which necessarily terminated in his Suspension.

Nor the Author of *The Defence* alone, but all the partizans and friends of his Lordship, have insisted, and endeavoured to persuade the world, that an opposition was formed and established against his Lordship previous to his arrival in India, through the influence of the Nabob; who had taken up large sums of Money of the Members of the Council that composed the Majority, and which he had secured to them by *tunkas*, or Assignments, on the Tanjore country.—This was rather an unlucky accusation for the Gentlemen to set out with, as it stands refuted in *The Defence* itself, in which our curious Advocate acknowledges that the Council were unanimous with his Lordship on every question for three months after his arrival (though the debates turned entirely on the means of dispossessing the Nabob of the Tanjore country, and restoring the Rajah) and even voted, *nemine contradicente*, for his expedition to Tanjore. Nor will it escape the observation of the most inattentive Reader, that till this Period, Lord Pigot received from the Board every testimony of respect and confidence his most sanguine wishes could form; nay so very ready did he find the council to oblige him in every thing, that they not only consented to his Lordship's desire of proceeding to Tanjore, unrestrained by any deputation from the Board; but, to indulge him further, they even relaxed in an article of duty, and conferred upon him the command of the troops in the Garrisons through which he was to pass.—So far then from any preconcerted opposition, we perceive, from the
time

time of his Lordship's arrival to the point of his departure to Tanjore, nothing but the most cordial unanimity, without even the least appearance of dissention, in the Councils of Madras. And even at this time when the proposal was made for investing his Lordship with a Military command out of the limits of the Presidency, Sir Robert Fletcher and two other Members only opposed the Resolution*.

THESE circumstances clearly evince the absolute falshood of this charge; besides, if the Members in the Majority had given loans to the Nabob, as a security for which they had taken Mortgages on the Tanjore Country, it cannot be conceived that they would have exposed themselves to a discovery, and risked the loss of their securities by unanimously suffering Lord Pigot to proceed to Tanjore with the absolute power of a Roman Dictator, uncontroled by any deputation from the Board.

AND here I could wish to impress a very material observation: That while Lord Pigot preserved the appearance of decency and moderation, and endeavoured to carry into execution the *supposed* indispensable Orders of the Company, in respect to the Restoration of the Rajah, without proceeding to the most indecent extremities with the Nabob, he was not opposed (except in the one instance I have just now mentioned†) even by a single Member;

* Sir Robert Fletcher entered a Minute against this Resolution, as contrary to the Constitution of the Service, and subversive of the Powers and Authority of the Commander in chief of the Army.

† The following may, perhaps, be considered as instances of opposition, and are therefore mentioned in this place.—In Consultation on the 25th of March, 1776,
the

Member ;—but after his return from Tanjore, where he had wantonly infringed the Rights of the Nabob, insulted him by Acts of unheard-of violence to his people, and indulged himself in all the cruel caprice of power, we then see him deserted by every independent Member, and supported only by Mr. Ruffel, Mr. Dalrymple, and Mr. Stone ; two of whom his Lordship brought with him from England, and the third had been, for a length of years, under his patronage ; had acted as his attorney in India during his Lordship's residence in England ; and is said to have received the arrears of his Pension from the Nabob.

BUT that these general charges of violence and injustice against Lord Pigot may not pass for unsupported imputations, I shall, without tediously pursuing his Lordship, step by step, through the progress of his Tanjorean expedition, proceed to a brief recital of the most striking instances of his outrage and cruelty, and make such observations on them, in passing, as may serve to expose their motives and explain their tendency.

THE seizure of the Nabob's Dobbeer is one of these instances. His Highness received intelligence of this transaction before his Lordship's return from his southern Adventures ; and in his Let-

ter the President, having obtained an unanimous affirmation of his Motion for going to Tanjore, moved next that he might take with him whatever Servants of the Company he chose, either Civil or Military :—To this second Motion Mr. Mackay and Mr. Jourdan dissented ;—Sir Robert Fletcher excepted only to the Governor's taking Members of the Council with him ;—and all the other Members affirmed the Motion.—Sir Robert Fletcher afterwards moved that at least two Members of the Council should be joined to the President in a Deputation ; which was carried in the Negative seven to four.

ter

ter, of the 21st of April, to Mr. Stratton, then acting Governor of Madras, complains of it in very strong terms;—representing, that a party of the Company's Troops had been sent from Tanjore to Arialoor, a place under his own government, dependent upon Trichinopoly, and had there seized Naroo Pundit his Do-beer, and others his subjects, and carried them away by force with his papers, as well private as public, to Lord Pigot at Tanjore.—This outrage the Nabob represents (and justly) as a breach of the faith and honour of the Company, repugnant to the conditions of the Guarantee of the English Nation, and the Rights of his Alliance with the King of Great Britain.

BUT our Advocate, with a confidence and ease peculiar to himself, explains away this act of hostility, and reduces it to nothing. According to him, not the Nabob with the Majority of the Council of Madras only, but the Governor General and Council of Bengal, were all engaged in a conspiracy to misrepresent and reprobate the conduct of his Lordship on all occasions. That Board, as well as the Nabob, had considered this Act, and represented it to the Court of Directors, as a Violation of the peace of the Carnatic, greatly injurious to the honour, dignity and independence of his Highness, contrary to the Act of Parliament for regulating the affairs of the East-India Company, and unwarranted by any necessity or provocation whatever.—This opinion of the Governor General and Council gives extreme umbrage to the Advocate, and draws down on them his utmost rage and resentment. Under his favorite rhetorical figure (which, by the bye, is but a mixed bastard kind of irony) he abuses them with all his might.—“ To swell this into an act of hostility,” says he—“ to make it appear to be an act of hostility committed
“ by

“ by Lord Pigot, the worthy President of Bengal, with his
 “ *obsequious* Council, in their Minutes—without design, no doubt,
 “ and imperceptibly—foisted in many little circumstances. Ma-
 “ ny material circumstances—without design, no doubt, and
 “ imperceptibly—they omitted.”—To evince this charge, our
 Advocate has recourse, as usual, to a variety of strange asser-
 tions, which he expects the reader will give entire credit to on
 his sole authority, though there is not one of them but is either
 absolutely impertinent, or materially untrue:—Such as—That the
 Dobbeer was not a servant of the Nabob; but a native of Tanjore,
 a subject of the Rajah, and the principal Financier of the Coun-
 try of Tanjore;—That he had been removed by the Nabob from
 the Tanjore Country, with the Government Accounts* to Aria-
 loor;—That Captain Tonyn, who commanded the party, received
written Orders from Lord Pigot, in which there was not a word
 about *seizing* or bringing the Dobbeer a *prisoner*;—but that, on

* The Advocate insinuates here, what in another place he more directly asserts,
 that the Dobbeer was forcibly taken by the Nabob from the Tanjore Country to
 Arialoor, with all the Government Accounts. But there is not the Shadow of
 any Authority for this assertion: Capt. Tonyn does not pretend to say that, on
 his arrival at Arialoor, the Dobbeer was attended by a Guard, or that he was
 under any restraint whatever.—And as to his bringing away the Accounts, he had
 not only a right, but it was his duty, to take them and his vouchers with him, for
 the purpose of settling with the Nabob, his Employer and his Master. Nor did
 this hinder the Rajah from adjusting his Accounts; as the Dobbeer had only re-
 tained and taken away those in the Persian tongue; Duplicates of which relating
 to every district, written on Cadjan leaves in the Malabar language, were left at
 their respective villages: a circumstance which our able Advocate thought proper
 not to touch upon, as being no part of his Client's Case. The Truth is, by this
 Manœuvre, and by getting the old Dobbeer as well as his Accounts in his power,
 his Lordship thought to have furnished proofs of the Nabob's having received
 more

the contrary, the Captain, conceiving that he was sent *to protect*, to *do honour* to the Dobbeer, marched to Arialoor,—and with the *free will*, at the *request* of the Dobbeer, from Arialoor he ESCORTED him to Tanjore ;—that therefore this was not an act of Hostility ;—and if it was an act of Hostility, it was not committed by the *express orders* of Lord Pigot.—Thus does this confident Writer, giving himself up to the habits of his Profession, affront the understanding of his readers, and treat them as he would an ignorant West-Country Jury ; forgetting all the while that his noble Client, disdaining, on this occasion, such low quirks and subterfuges, boldly avows the act to the Nabob himself ; and, to heighten the insult, tells him, “ *the Good Purposes which the Measure had answered would*, he hoped, appear to his Highness a sufficient reason for ESCORTING his Dobbeer to Tanjore.”

THIS open and direct avowal of an act, which his Advocate has employed so much ingenious labour to contradict, at the expence either of his own or of his client's veracity, is contained

more from the Revenues of the Tanjore Country than he had expended in his several Expeditions, in repairs of Public works, in improvements, by his discharging of the Rajah's Mortgages, &c.—And these proofs were to be employed as a justification of his Lordship for depriving the Nabob of the Crops then on the Ground. Disappointed in these views (tho' he had found means to make the Dobbeer very accommodating) he has recourse to the paltry Artifice of a ridiculous tale of hidden treasures, which the religious injunctions of the Rajah's Ancestors, had, for near a century, rendered sacred from use, even on the extremest emergencies, and which fell into the sacrilegious hands of the Nabob's Son, when the Town was taken by storm.

in a Letter from his Lordship to the Nabob : * It was written in answer to one from his Highness, complaining (among other injuries) of the exploit we are now treating of, and merits very particular notice.—His Lordship received the Nabob's Letter soon after his return from his Tanjorean expedition : Flushed with the success that had hitherto attended his Adventures, and secure, as he flattered himself, of the sanction of a Majority of the Board in all his future operations, he gives free scope to that contemptuous insolence, which he had of late habituated himself to in his treatment of the Nabob, and dictates an Answer, wherein, after avowing and justifying the Act of entering Arialoor, and seizing and bringing away the Nabob's Dobbeer, as we have just cited, he proceeds in this pompous and exulting strain.

“ SHALL the Gates of Arialoor (exclaims his Lordship) or
 “ any other Gates in the Payen-Ghaut, be shut against the troops
 “ of the Company, who have fought for you near thirty years,
 “ when they ask admittance by MY AUTHORITY ? I hope not.—
 “ This would be an improper return to THE MAN who put your
 “ Highness in possession of them, &c.”

THE Sublimity of this passage cannot be sufficiently admired. The inflated imagination of this arrogant Lord, carries him far beyond Cæsar in his greatest paroxysm of vanity, or Alexander in his most drunken fit.—“ Shall the Gates of Arialoor ?”—The Gates of Arialoor ! What are those ?—Shall the Gates of the most impregnable fortresses of the Carnatic be shut

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 150.

against the troops of the Company, when they demand Admittance by *His Authority*? By the Authority of this Man of Men, —“ this Setter-up and Puller-down of Kings!” —in the resplendent rays of whose superlative Greatness, the Council of Madras, the East-India Company, their faith and honour, the Sovereign Rights of the Nabob, the Guarantee of the English Nation, are all absorbed—all lost.

But to return to Tanjore:—The conduct of his Lordship which next demands notice, but which happened prior to the seizure of the Dobbeer at Arialoor, is the unprovoked and violent treatment of the Nabob's Officers in Administration at Tanjore. These Men, some of whom were Persons of distinction, and who had been employed in the first Offices of trust for a long succession of years, as well by An'war-adean, as by the present Nabob his Son, were treated in the face of the Nabob's Army with great indignity and disgrace, their papers seized, and their persons confined. Not content with this, his Lordship published a Proclamation, purporting that any person whatever, who should harbour or give sustenance to any of the Nabob's people, should be considered as criminal. These outrageous acts, as they would not on any ground admit of justification, are *in some sort* denied by Lord Pigot: They are notwithstanding substantially verified, not by the solemn assertions of the complaining parties only, but by a cloud of present Witnesses on the testimony of their senses.—Nothing but the most violent resentment against the Nabob, for standing in the way of his avaricious views, by refusing his consent to the Restoration of the Rajah, could possibly have induced such a conduct, which no idea of propriety or public expediency

diency could on this occasion dictate or require: And the perseverance of the Nabob checking his eagerness for the completion of his views, which he was desperately determined to carry into execution at all hazards, provoked him to such violent proceedings, as drew on, by degrees, an effectual opposition to his measures; till, by exercising the most unconstitutional and intemperate acts of Tyranny, his *Suspension* became, from necessity, an act of Duty in the Majority.

BUT that which puts the seal, as it were, to his Lordship's Character,—stamps it with the indelible marks of tyranny and cruelty,—is the atrocious treatment of Comaroo the Hindoo Merchant. If the condition or rank of this man has been something exaggerated on one side, it has also been extremely degraded on the other. The friends of the Majority have shewn a desire to represent him as on a footing with the most opulent English Merchants; while the Advocate and the other partizans of Lord Pigot, depreciate him into a low Money-Broker, scarce worthy to be classed with the dirty Jews of 'Change Alley or Duke's Place. The truth is, Comaroo is a Gentoo of a high cast, who from the credit of his opulence and integrity, had for many years been intrusted with the most considerable concerns in the Carnatic. He had been long well known and well received both by the Rajah and the Nabob.—A few days before Lord Pigot arrived in India, he returned from Tanjore to Madrafs, where, being much respected by many of the first consideration in the Presidency, he was introduced to Lord Pigot by Governor Wynch and Mr. Crawford.—When Lord Pigot was preparing to set out for Tanjore, Comaroo, who as the Factor or Agent of

Mr.

Mr. Benfield, had the management of his affairs in that Country, obtained leave to accompany his Principal, who was to join his Lordship in that Expedition: There were besides in the Governor's suite, Messrs. Dalrymple and Jourdan, both of the Council,—Mr. Chambers the Interpreter,—and Captain Wood the Town Major,—*with all the eminent Bankers of Madras* *.

ON Lord Pigot's arrival at Tanjore, Comaroo, perceiving that the Rajah was frequently visited by Moodoo Kistnah, his Lordship's Dubash, by other Dubashes, and by many persons of the place, waited till between 8 and 9 in the evening, when his Lordship had retired from the Palace, and announcing himself by some of the Rajah's servants, immediately received permission to attend him.—Comaroo was accompanied by Kistnajee Pundit a Soucar, and Soobarow, a man of Rank, both residents of Tanjore.—The Rajah's attendants conducted him into their Master's presence, who was surrounded by a number of his own Household, and attended by Colonel Harper's Dubash. Comaroo paid his respects to the Rajah, who received him very graciously, recognizing him as a person with whom he had been long acquainted, and for whom he had much regard and friendship.—He congratulated the Rajah on his Restoration, who accepted his compliments with apparent kindness and pleasure,—entered into gene-

* Among these was Sunco Rama, an aged man of very considerable wealth, who died with vexation and fatigue, soon after his return to Madras. The employment of these Bankers at Tanjore, may of itself sufficiently account for what Lord Pigot says in one of his Letters, soon after his return from this Expedition: viz. "That the Tanjore Country was not in a condition to be burthened with any extraordinary charge at *that time*."

ral conversation with him,—talked much of the will of Providence, and of his great obligations to the English Nation ;—after which Comaroo, without touching upon any other topic, or uttering a syllable that had the least tendency to business of any kind, respectfully took his leave of the Rajah and retired.—Kistnaje Pundit and Soobarow were present during the whole interview.

COMAROO'S visit was presently known to Moodoo Kistnah, his Lordship's Dubash, who, jealous of the superior cast and credit of Comaroo, and apprehensive of the consequences which might result from his prying into the secret money-negotiations then on foot between the Governor and the Rajah, gave immediate information to his Lordship.—His Lordship, alarmed at the discoveries which might be brought into day by so dangerous a Spy, as his own fears and the false representations of his Dubash had painted Comaroo,—determined by one decisive act, not only to terrify every person whatever from interfering in his affairs at Tanjore, but effectually to deter the Rajah himself from all improper intercourse. Accordingly the next morning he ordered the poor man into his presence,—charged him with intruding on the Rajah at an unseasonable late hour ;—and on this charge alone, absolutely false, and unsupported by a tittle of evidence, did this remorseless Governor inflict a punishment worse than death upon the wretched Victim.---Nor could any considerations resulting from his rank in life, his wealth, his reputation, or his innocence, protect him from indelible infamy and ruin. He was by his Lordship's command, without so much as knowing his accuser, or being suffered to utter a word in his defence,,

fence, instantly stripped, and flogged on the Public Parade:— From this time, the people of Tanjore shunned all connection and intercourse with him; and, by the Governor's Orders, his people were not allowed to come into the Fort, but were chased out of the Province.

THE Public acts of violence committed by Lord Pigot against the Nabob in this Expedition, particularly that of seizing his Dobbeer, gave a general alarm through the whole Presidency, and opened the eyes of several of the Council to the dangerous intentions and views of his Lordship.—At the first Consultation after his return to Madras, Sir Robert Fletcher having retired from the Board through indisposition, a Minute of approbation of the President's Proceedings on his Commission to Tanjore was entered, Exceptions to which by four of the remaining Members, on account of the seizure of the Dobbeer, immediately followed. But, so far had the general concern for his Lordship's acts of Public violence, swallowed up all regard to the private wrongs of an individual, that but one Member only minuted his disapprobation of the infamous, and cruel Punishment which Lord Pigot had inflicted on the innocent, unhappy Comaroo; till at length the complaints of the poor sufferer, and the solicitations of his friends, promoted an inquiry; and when, from the result of such inquiry, it appeared, on the clearest and most incontrovertible evidence, that he had not committed the least offence whatever, but had been made the Victim of his Lordship's jealous fears, and that so ignominious a punishment had been inflicted on him from the whisper, and at the mere instigation, of a vile Informer;—the Accused never confronted with his Accuser, nor heard a syllable

lable in his defence,—the deed was universally execrated, and it became a charge of such magnitude against his Lordship, that his friends thought it necessary for his exculpation, to make the Offence of Comaroo of such a nature, that it might seem to bear some proportion to his Punishment.

It is clearly with this pious purpose, that Mr. Dalrymple, the friend and colleague of Lord Pigot gives his well-fabricated account of this Transaction, in his Letter to the Court of Directors from Alexandria; which, as it contains at once an excellent picture of the Writer's disposition, and a curious specimen of his literary talents, I shall here give to the public.

SPEAKING of the Proceedings of the Council, after his Lordship's return to Tanjore, he says, " Some of the Members
 " excepted to his Lordship's proceedings concerning the Dobbeer;
 " and Mr. Mackay also to the punishment his Lordship had ordered to be inflicted on a Madras Dubash, named Comaroo,
 " who, the Rajah complained, had intruded himself into his
 " presence, when gone to sleep, the very night of our arrival,
 " telling him Lord Pigot would recommend to him to put his
 " Country under the Company's protection, and require an English garrison to be kept in the fort; but advising him to be
 " firm in refusing these propositions, and to reply, that he would
 " govern his country as his father had done, and protect it with
 " his own troops; and assuring the Rajah he (Comaroo) *was supported by seven Members of the Council.* Every head of the Resolutions of the Council it appeared this man had been made
 " acquainted with, and advised the Rajah to oppose, offering to
 " supply him any sum of money he might want. It was

"suspected the Nabob had employed him as an emissary, to
 "counsel the Rajah to his destruction. *Lord Pigot cut his machi-*
 "nations very short, by ordering him to be chabucked on the Public pa-
 "rade."

SUCH then is the invented accusation brought against Comaroo, to which is added a tale of his having two or three years before, when he was transacting Money-affairs at Tanjore, drawn a Bill, at the Rajah's desire, on Mr. Benfield, in favour of the Nabob, swearing upon milk that the Money would be paid, but that Mr. Benfield refused to accept the Bill, &c. &c.

THE Advocate in his Defence adopts this accusation, though glaringly false on the face of it, and improves it with all the rich fertility of his own invention. In a strain of Eloquence well worthy of exciting the envy and imitation of the Fair orators of Thames Street, poor Comaroo is called a sneaking, cheating Money-lender, a Black, a Fellow without a name, a dirty Jew-broker, the Shylock of Madras, upon whose Beard the honest merchant of Venice would have voided his rheum,—with almost every other abusive appellation that can be found in the Vocabulary of Billingsgate.—Yet is this insignificant despicable Wretch picked out as the Emissary of the Nabob, supported by seven Members of the Council of Madras, to persuade the Rajah to Measures for his Destruction. But so penetrating a Prince was our Rajah, that he soon saw through the insidious Advice of the Nabob's Agent, and instantly complained of his intrusion to Lord Pigot, who, in the opinion of his Advocate, would have stood excused, if he had treated Comaroo as the Commander of an Army would have

have treated a Spy,—blown him from the Mouth of a Cannon:—And therefore (proceeds this admirable logician) his Lordship can require no very elaborate *justification*, for having (to borrow Mr. Dalrymple's expression,—and he borrows it because he thinks it proper)—“*cut his machinations very short, by ordering him to be “ chabucked on the Public parade.”*”

AND is there One generous reader, who does not resent the injury done to his sentiment, as well as to his understanding, by this congenial pair of audacious unfeeling men; who in such a shameful manner have dared to justify so despotic, so unjust, so cruel an act? Is there One who would hesitate to wish most cordially with me to see them both warmed into a little humanity, and flogged till Comaroo himself, standing over the executioner, should cry out—Hold! enough!

IT appears from the Evidence on Oath of two men of the fairest and most unimpeached credit and reputation, that Comaroo in his Visit to the Rajah was guilty of no intrusion, that he entered into no discourse with the Rajah, except such general conversation as I have before related; and Comaroo himself deposes, that Lord Pigot brought no Charge against him, nor gave any reason whatever for the punishment inflicted on him, but that he went to the Rajah without his Lordship's leave. As to the Charges against Comaroo, That he had the insolence to propose to the Rajah to rent his whole country;—That he dissuaded the Rajah from admitting an English Garrison in his Fort;—That he advised him not to depend on the Company, but to declare that he did not want such Assistance, and would defend his

Country in the same manner as his father had done;—*assuring the Rajah he would be assisted and supported by SEVEN Members of the Council*;—it is worthy of observation, that the first time we hear of these Charges is on the 14th of June, from the President's Minute in the Debate on Mr. Mackay's Motion, "That it be further recommended to the Rajah, to account with Mr. Benfield, for the Government share of the grain in the districts assigned to him by the Nabob, and said to be forcibly taken from his people:"—In this Minute his Lordship urges as a reason against the Motion, that he sees clearly such a Resolution of the Council, would authorise Mr. Benfield to send *this Comaroo* to transact his affairs with the Rajah, &c. It was not therefore till about this time, it may be fairly supposed, that these Charges were first fabricated for the reasons I have just now assigned. That they are absolutely false will appear from the following circumstance, independent of any external evidence. The proposals of Comaroo to the Rajah, which he is made to assert, would be supported by SEVEN MEMBERS of the Council, are charged to have been offered on the 8th of April, at a time when it was notorious his Lordship had a very considerable Majority in the Council, and before Mr. Floyer, who afterwards composed one of the seven in opposition, arrived in India, or was expected there*.

* This Gentleman did not arrive at Madras till June following; on the 6th of which month he first took his Seat in Council, where he remained, at the pressing instance of Lord Pigot and his friends, notwithstanding his representations and remonstrances to the Board, of his being appointed by the Court of Directors, to succeed and take immediate charge of the Chief-ship at Masulipatam, in the place of Mr. Whitehill, who had departed for England three months before the arrival of Mr. Floyer.

AND,

AND, what is still more extraordinary, this *Masterly writer**, Mr. Dalrymple, in this very Letter from Alexandria, directly contradicts himself in respect to these very Charges against Comaroo, where he asserts, that a Resolution having passed the Council on the 29th of May 1776, inimical to Mr. Benfield's Claims on the Tanjore Country, *he* had afterwards interest enough to get that Resolution rescinded, thro' the influence which the Nabob obtained by corruption over some of the Members of the Council, *who had TILL THEN supported his Lordship*.—This is one specimen, among a hundred that might be produced, of the modesty, the truth and candour of the Advocates and Partizans of Lord Pigot. But the shameless effrontery of the Author of *The Defence*, is, on this occasion, beyond example. With this certain and incontestable *prima facie* proof of the falsehood of this whole Charge staring him in the face, he tells us, “That Lord Pigot “had asserted in direct terms, that the Rajah had complained to “him of the intrusion and insidious proposals of Comaroo.”—And what follows? Why truly, tho’ (as the Advocate well knew) Lord Pigot had not seen the Rajah between the time of Comaroo’s visit and his punishment;—yet, we are told, *his Lordship could not be mistaken*;”—and the Advocate choosing to rely on this assertion of his Lordship, rather than on the Oaths of Comaroo and the two Witnesses, Kistnajee Pundit and Soobarow,—the *fact* is settled;—and the *consequence* is, “That it was justifiable to cut the fellow’s machinations short, by ordering him to be whipped on the Public parade.”

* In *The Defence*, p. 135, we find *this character* given of Mr. Dalrymple;—with what justice, the reader may judge from the Specimen I have shewn of his writing, page 97.

ON his Lordship's return to Madras, the Nabob sent his second Son, Ameer ul Umrah, to the Mount to compliment him on his return to his Government: He received the young Nabob with great reserve, or rather with rudeness; it was in the course of a constrained conversation at this interview, that Lord Pigot declared to the Ameer, that the Nabob his father *had stuck a knife in his back, and that he would never forgive him*, as before related. The Prince employed all the conciliating means that prudence could suggest to reconcile him to his father, and even condescended to tell his Lordship, that the Nabob should pay him the first visit; but his Lordship still kept aloof to every offer of this nature. This reserve was adopted from Policy, and he thought by this finesse to make the Nabob purchase a pardon for the injuries his Lordship had done *him*, at the expence of his Honour, and of all his Power and Consequence in the Carnatic.—Conscious as his Lordship was of the dangerous responsibility he had exposed himself to from his outrageous and hostile conduct at Tanjore, he thought it necessary to hazard one decisive effort on the Nabob's fears, which he conceived had been sufficiently alarmed by his preparatory menaces thrown out to his Son. With this view, and for this purpose, his Lordship, on the 11th of May, condescended to return the Nabob's visit, who received him with his accustomed politeness, and manifested a disposition to be on friendly terms with his Lordship, and to wait with patience the event of his Appeal to England. His Lordship lengthened out his visit till he found it proper to bring the conversation to the necessary point of decision; when he presented the Nabob with the Letter before-mentioned to be copied by him, and sent to his Lordship, as the terms of their reconciliation.—This
Letter

Letter being very important, I shall here again transcribe it to save the trouble of referring to it in another place.

“ I AM very happy at my friend's return, I forgive you for every thing you have done. The man who is faithful to his Master will ever be so to his friend. Now you have finished the Company's Business, I hope you will not forget mine. I will lay before you the whole state of my affairs, and desire your assistance to settle them to the satisfaction of the Company, that I may be happy.”

It cannot but strike the Observation of every Reader of ordinary attention, that nothing less than a consciousness of having greatly injured the Nabob, could have induced his Lordship to dictate, in the commencement of this Letter, a Pardon “ for every thing he had done.” This is one of those very common escapes of self-accusation, to which conscious guilt is ever exposed, when cunning nods on its guard.—So far, however, under certain qualifications, might possibly have been complied with, if the most indecent and extravagant requisitions that insolence and despotism could possibly prescribe, had not followed. To call upon the Nabob for an implied approbation of his Lordship's conduct in the affair of Tanjore, what was this but to require his Highness to relinquish all his claims of Right to that Country, and his expectations of being restored to it;—to desert his appeal to England;—to avow the unreasonableness and injustice of his continued opposition to his Lordship's measures, and to establish a Precedent for any future Governor to infringe his Rights at pleasure, and with impunity?—But to require the Nabob “ to lay the whole state of his affairs before his Lordship, “ that

“that he might adjust them to the satisfaction of the Company,” was nothing less than to exact from him an absolute resignation of all his power and authority, to leave him a mere Nominal Nabob, reduced to the very state in which his Lordship had left the Rajah, whom he was delegated to restore to the throne of his Ancestors, from principles of justice, and a respect for the public faith of treaties; and whose affairs he was just returned from “*adjusting to the satisfaction of the Company, as well as to his own.*”

THIS was an abasement to which it was impossible for his Highness to submit. Injured, insulted, and degraded as he had been in the eyes of his own subjects, and of the neighbouring Powers, by his Lordship's violence and rapacity, such imbecility, such inconsistency of conduct, as was now required of him, he yet disdained to stoop to.—His Lordship, however, having laid his account in the Nabob's absolute submission to these exorbitant terms, nothing could equal his disappointment on his being made acquainted with his Highness's final determination: His resentment was proportioned to that disappointment, and immediately burst forth in every kind of violence, and in every species of intemperate and even personal insult towards the Nabob. Whether such violence was entirely vindictive, or whether, from his indecent and outrageous treatment of his Highness, he still entertained hopes of terrifying him into his Measures, I take not upon me to determine with certainty.—It will be necessary to point out some instances of his conduct on this occasion, to shew the consequences they produced, and the influence they had in forming that opposition, which eventually and necessarily terminated in his Lordship's Suspension.

THE

THE Nabob having been informed that his Son in Law, Kirudeen Cawn, was indebted in a considerable sum to a Merchant in Madrafs, who had issued out process upon the bond for the money in the Mayor's Court, in order to hold the defendant to bail, made enquiry into his situation; and finding that this dissolute youth had contracted debts with Europeans to the amount of two Lacks of Pagodas, his Highness, to prevent the disgrace which would have been immediately brought on his Family, by the person of his Son-in-law being put under an arrest, and to lay a restraint in future on his prodigality, obliged him to live within the bounds of his own gardens; but it was not long before his wife, who had great influence over her father, brought about a reconciliation between him and her husband, and he was permitted to appear at Court as usual. Two days after he had obtained this indulgence, and immediately upon the fracas between the Nabob and Lord Pigot, on account of the Pencil Letter, he made his escape over the garden-wall, and put himself under the protection of his Lordship; who, notwithstanding he had himself some time before given intelligence to the Nabob of the danger his Son-in-law was in of being arrested, assuring his Highness it was not in his power to stop the proceedings of the Court, or prevent the arrest, found means to instigate the flight of this young man and his three Brothers;—and, to distress and disgrace the Nabob, instead of sending them back to him, which by express stipulations then subsisting between the Governor and Council and the Nabob, as well as in justice and honour, he ought to have done, he took a House for them in the Black Town in Madrafs, supplied them with Money, placed a Guard of the Company's Seapoys about them, and issued his Orders that the Nabob's people should not be suffered to molest them;

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appeared

appeared publicly with them in his own carriage, took them to the Company's gardens, entertained them at his table, and gave them every possible ostentatious mark of respect and protection, merely to vex the Nabob, to depreciate him in the regard of his own Subjects, and in the eyes of the neighbouring Princes*.

THE notoriety of this inimical and contemptuous conduct of Lord Pigot towards the Nabob could not fail of its desired effect. It soon brought forward several desperate persons † to pay their court to the Governor, by inventing tales injurious to the Nabob, no matter how absurd or improbable. The first of these

* Kirudeen Cawn, some time after, fled from Madras to the Malabar Coast, intending to go from thence up the Red Sea, and over land to England. On the Malabar Coast he was seized with a violent disorder in his Bowels, which prevented his proceeding farther. Remorse for what he had done, or fear of quitting India upon so hazardous a project, induced him, during his illness, to write to the Nabob, informing him that he had been seduced by the advice of Lord Pigot and his friends to go to England, to solicit the Nabobship of the Carnatic; that they had assured him there was no doubt but that, like Cazim Ally, the Son-in-law of Meer-Jaffier at Bengal, he would, by his merit and their support, succeed in his enterprize; and assuring the Nabob that if his Highness would give him the Government of the Tenivelly Country, he would return, be very dutiful in future, and make him acquainted with the rise and progress of the plot that had been concerted against him.

† Amongst these was one *Carim Cawn*, who had been a menial servant of the Nabob, and who, for his infamous behaviour, had been dismissed from his Highness's service, as he had also been from the service of several English Gentlemen, for petty frauds: This fellow, pretending to have claims for money on his Highness, was admitted to his Lordship's table as a guest, where he would not have been suffered to attend as a domestic, but with a view of making him the instrument of insult and vexation to the Nabob.

Informers,

Informers, who made any figure, was a *Hircara* or Porter belonging to the Company, who reported to Lord Pigot that a man's house having been plundered by the Circar's people, his daughter (at this time an old woman) remained in the Country very poor:—That the Nabob being informed by an enemy of hers that she had money, ordered her to be brought before him under a guard, but her examination producing no discovery of her imputed wealth, her enemy, the Informer, proposed to the Nabob to take her back and extort a confession from her on the rack. “The Woman would not go” [these are the very words of the Report of the faithful *Hircara*, as produced in Consultation by Lord Pigot himself] “for fear *they should murder her*; but they “are forcing her to go, and she declares that if she is forced, she “will *kill herself*. As she is now in the Company's Bounds, *she* “sent to acquaint your Lordship of the above violence, and beg “you to *save her life*.” This curious Report the *Hircara* concludes by declaring that, “As it was his duty to acquaint his “Lordship with *any news*, or violence, that might be *committed* in “the Bounds, he thought fit to make this Report.”

To point out the nonsense, the absurdity, and absolute incredibility of this story of a poor old Woman, who was to be put to the torture to force a discovery of her wealth, would be to insult the understanding, and abuse the patience of the Reader. On the ridiculous pretence, however, of preventing an old Woman from being forced, and thereby saving her Life, his Lordship sent a party of Seapoys, late in the evening, into the Nabob's Garden. His Highness's family were extremely alarmed, and apprehended nothing less than the seizure of the Nabob's person. Happily this mad insult was attended with no evil.

evil consequences; the Women were very fortunately retired to their apartments: Had they been exposed to the sight of the Soldiers, such is the savage delicacy of the customs of the Seraglio in India, they would immediately have destroyed themselves by poison, or some other means of violence.

On the 26th of May, Lord Pigot received a Letter from the Nabob, in which he complains of, and remonstrates upon the violences and injuries committed by his Lordship, in seizing certain countries belonging to him, and forcibly driving his people from thence; desiring him to give orders for the restoration of the places so unjustly possessed, and manifesting a resolution to appeal to the Company for a redress of these injuries. This Letter so extremely enraged him, that, in the fury of his resentment, he appeared the next day, at eight in the morning, at the Nabob's Durbar, where, in the presence of his Highness's Brother and his two sons, he gave full scope to the violence of his disposition in a strain of incredible intemperance;—called several of the Members of the Council the most opprobrious names; and threatened to dismiss them from the Service;—declared that the Europeans about the Nabob were all white-faced rascals, and that they should not for the future come near him;—and, in the most determined manner, threatened to place an European guard upon his house.—This unheard-of violence, joined to the outrage I have just related, exceedingly alarmed the Nabob, who, apprehensive that his Lordship would carry his menaces into execution, and heap the most insupportable indignities upon him, applied by letter to Sir Edward Hughes, Commander in chief of his Majesty's Ships in India, setting forth these apprehensions, and declaring that Lord Pigot's abuse of his power (of which he gives several instances) had been carried

carried against him to such a height, that he was obliged to make this application for the immediate interference of the Commodore in his support; conjuring him by every duty he owed to justice and his high station, by his Sovereign's honour, and the interest of the Company, to apply immediately to the Board, and settle such measures with them that his power and his family might be secure against Lord Pigot's threats and violences. He then shews the necessity of this application to Sir Edward Hughes, as he could not apply to the Council, but thro' the Governor, who was the object of his complaints, and who had before suppressed from the knowledge and inspection of the Board a very material Letter of his Highness, as we have before observed.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of the Nabob's Letter, the Commodore wrote to the Governor and Council, observing that his Highness's application to him was of such an alarming tendency, that he could not avoid laying it before them as early as possible; part of the King's instructions to him being to promote the interest of his Majesty, the advantage of the Company, and of those Indian Princes with whom they had Engagements, and among whom the Nabob of the Carnatic held the most distinguished place. The Commodore then declares, that his motives for this Address to the Board, are, his duty to the King his master, his zeal for the Company's welfare, and his feelings for the Nabob, the distinguished friend of both; not doubting (he adds) but they would take such measures in consequence, as would effectually protect the Nabob from such alarms in future; the National honour and interest, as well as the welfare of the Company, being materially connected with the just security of his Highness.

THIS

THIS Address, containing an inclosure of a translation of the Nabob's Application to the Commodore for protection, was consulted upon by the Board, immediately on receipt of this packet, an Answer to which was entered on the Proceedings, and dispatched to the Commodore, wherein the Board thought fit to acquaint him, that their President *had assured them*, " That the Nabob had totally misunderstood him; that he never had a thought of placing a guard over him, although he feared; and expressed those fears to the Nabob, that the encouragement his Highness gave to the European visitors, and the impediments to public business, arising from the intrigues carried on by them at his Durbar, *would lay him under a necessity to place a guard to bring such persons to him, that he might be acquainted with the nature of their business.*"—The Board from hence conclude (it is not easy to perceive *why*) that " THIS will be sufficient to satisfy the Commodore, that the Nabob's person is in perfect security." They then proceed to inform him, that his Lordship *had declared*, " That no wanton indignity was ever intended to his Highness, or ever will be committed by him, *although his ears can never be shut to the complaints of the distressed.*"

SIR Edward Hughes's Letter to the Board gave universal alarm. The Council, tho' they thought fit to receive this awkward concession of his Lordship, this qualified acknowledgment of the truth of the Nabob's charge, yet they clearly saw thro' the futility and evasiveness of the apology. His Lordship, mistaking their acquiescence for want of discernment, and believing them the dupes of his artifice, proceeded with confidence to use them as the further instruments of his great object of subduing the Nabob to his own terms, and moved, " That it is the Opinion
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“ of the Board, that the Letter from the Nabob to Sir Edward Hughes, was written purposely to create animosity between the Members of this Government.” This Motion, it will be presently seen, was only intended to pave the way for others of a more violent and decisive nature which were to succeed.

THE Advocate, in his accustomed tone and manner, and in a way of reasoning peculiar to himself, attempts to vindicate this Motion, by asserting that the Nabob's Letter to Sir Edward Hughes related facts which did not happen, and expressed apprehensions which it was impossible he should feel; and that the Letter was, by unavoidable consequence, written purposely to create that animosity among the Members of the Board, which it was so well calculated to create. It would be in vain to reply to this concise Logician,—it would be to no purpose to tell him the facts *did* happen,—that Lord Pigot himself has directly acknowledged these facts,—that he has avowed his sending a party of seapoys into the Nabob's garden,—that he has also admitted his threatening to place a guard for the purpose of seizing and making prisoners of all such Europeans as should presume to visit his Highness, in order to make himself acquainted with the business of their visits. As to his Lordship's pretence for sending guards in the night into the Nabob's Garden, this has been already taken notice of, and sufficiently refuted.—To place guards for the purpose which his Lordship has thought fit to avow, is a direct violation of the civil rights of our Constitution: Nor could these Guards have been effectually placed, but by giving them a station near the Nabob's House; because otherwise he might have received and dismissed his visitors without molestation, by the various avenues that lead to the Palace.—That the Nabob should not feel
any

any apprehensions of dishonour from degrading insults such as these, can be supposed upon no other ground but that, from his patience under the repeated indignities he had been loaded with by Lord Pigot, he might reasonably be thought to have lost all sense of feeling. One of the independent Members of the Council, however, not aware of the evil tendency of this Motion, voted with the President, by which means he carried the question by his own casting voice.—Encouraged by this success, he immediately takes his next step, and moves, “ That, agreeable to the Company’s standing Orders, no Member of the Council do henceforth visit or correspond by writing or by message, with the Nabob or either of his Sons.”

HIS Lordship introduced this Motion, by observing * that, after such a Letter as that written by the Nabob to Sir Edward Hughes, and after the sentiments of the President expressed in reply to Sir Edward Hughes, as well as what passed in debate on the subject, he hoped the impropriety, nay indecency, of visiting the Nabob under such circumstances, must strike every Member of the Board : But as neither Lord Pigot, or his Advocate, has condescended to point out or explain wherein such impropriety or indecency consists, it will, I fear, be to no purpose for the reader to attempt the discovery.

HIS Lordship, however, very well knew what an alarming circumstance it would be to the Nabob, for it to be known to all the European and Country Powers that he was thus shut up from all intercourse with his friends the English, except thro’ the

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 81.

channel of his known and avowed Enemy; and he might probably flatter himself, that the apprehensions of what might result from this prohibition, would dispose the Nabob to submit at length to the views of his Lordship, by making him such concessions in Writing as he might think fit to dictate for his own exculpation: Nothing, therefore, could certainly be more improper, or more impolitic, than the conduct of that independent Member, who, by concurring, at so perilous a juncture, in this injurious Motion, abandoned the Nabob to the merciless views of his Lordship. It may perhaps however be urged in excuse of that Member, that this Motion would not have been supported by him, if it had not been unexpectedly made, and come upon him by surprize; for he seems on reflection not only to have perceived the consequences which I have pointed out, but also to have apprehended, with the other Members, that his Highness, insulted and deserted by us in so shameful a manner, might, in such a desperate and distressful situation, be exposed to the intrigues of our enemies, and probably driven to seek an Asylum in Pondicherry. These reasons, which cannot fail to make deep impressions on every unprejudiced mind, induced the Majority afterwards to rescind this Resolution, replete with such alarming and dangerous consequences.

IN the mean time, his Lordship having succeeded in his second Motion, immediately proceeded to what he conceived would prove a decisive stroke for the accomplishments of his designs on the Nabob, which, in the midst of all his resentment, he seems determined never to quit, whilst the least ray of possibility remained. He represented to the Board the inconveniences and evils which attended the constant residence of the Nabob within

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the Company's Bounds,—That instances of murder, imprisonments, thefts, *tortures*, and *such like offences*, wherein the interference of the Government of Madras was indispensably necessary, had been committed by the Nabob's people, within the short time of his Government;—that he should ill deserve the trust reposed in him if he suffered informations of such a nature to pass unnoticed,—and that if he was not passive the Nabob would ever think his Dignity hurt.---Then, after enumerating other grievances, he adds, that he well knows the Nabob's complaint to Sir Edward Hughes proceeded from his Lordship having released *certain children stolen by a Moor-man*, who was formerly in the Nabob's service,*---and, pretending that he was desirous of avoiding every occasion of giving disgust to his Highness, he moved, “*That it might be recommended to the Nabob to reside at Arcot.*”

NOTHING can be conceived more desperate, more unjust, nor more ruinous to the affairs of the company, than this Measure. It is an outrage upon reason, and absolutely repugnant to the principles upon which his Lordship pretended to act.---It may be here necessary to recall to the reader's memory the grounds on which his Lordship recommended to the Court of Directors to deprive the Nabob of Tanjore, and restore the Rajah. First, “that the Nabob's sentiments were hostile to the Company, “and to the English nation, and that he aimed at Independence;”---and next, “that as he had, by the conquest of Tan-

* We are not informed, either by Lord Pigot or his Advocate, of what sex these Children were, nor for what purpose they were stolen; whether they were to be fed for his table, or pampered for his Seraglio; or for what other purpose the Nabob kidnapped them, is kept a profound secret.

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“ jore, increased his Revenues and his army, he would, by continuing in the possession of that Country, be enabled to carry his plan of Independence into execution.” To attempt then to chase the Nabob like a Felon from Madrafs, where he and his family lived as Pledges of his faithful attachment to the English, exposed at Arcot (at the head of a formidable Army, his mind irritated with resentment) to the insidious Negotiations of the French, who were then daily expected on the coast;---This either affords a strong proof of his Lordship's conviction, that his Highness's attachment was proof against all the contemptuous outrages his insolent and vindictive disposition could heap upon him, and that the views of independence imputed to his Highness were the mere invention of his Lordship to serve his own private purposes; or it too plainly evinces that he made no scruple to sacrifice the Interests of the Company, and the Honour of the English nation, to the gratification of his revenge, stimulated by disappointed avarice.

As to the representations of Lord Pigot, on which this motion was grounded, they do not appear to be supported by the shadow of evidence; but as far as they can possibly affect the Nabob himself, they stand refuted by the concurrent testimony of a Majority of the Members, as appears in their Minutes entered in Consultation on the 24th of June;* wherein they observe that, altho' many years had elapsed since the Nabob came to reside at Madrafs, it was remarkable that among his own household, and the numerous train of people that had followed him to Madrafs, little cause of complaint had arisen; and that during

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 289.

the whole time of their residence in the Presidency, there had none of them ever given occasion to the Grand Jury to make a single Presentment. *They lament, that if any such enormities, as his Lordship complains of, had really existed, that he had not communicated them in due time, that the offenders might have been brought to justice.* ---The Commander in Chief further observes, in the course of this Minute, that there had been frequent complaints made to him, from the Out-Garrisons, of disputes between the Officers under his command, and the Nabob's Officers, and that, in consequence of a message from him to the Nabob, or to one of his Sons, or from either of them to him, such disputes were in general amicably settled.---From these circumstances, and from the knowledge of the several Members of the Nabob's readiness to give redress to every grievance that should be represented to him, they infer the striking impropriety of the last Resolution of the Board for prohibiting the Members of the Council to visit the Nabob, and thereupon it is moved that such Resolution be rescinded.

THE impolicy of attempting to drive the Nabob and his family from Madras, will appear more glaring, when we consider the advantages which result from his Highness's residence there; the great increase of the inhabitants, the improvement of their commerce, and the general prosperity of the Settlement; and what considerable depopulation and decrease of the Company's revenues must necessarily have ensued, if this violent and impolitic attempt had succeeded;---not to insist on the flagrant injustice of depriving his Highness of his Palace and Gardens, which he had raised and planted at an enormous expence in the midst of a desert, with the concurrence of the Company,---

or

or the arrogant presumption of adopting such a violent Measure unauthorized by any Order or Direction from his Masters.

ALMOST every page of *The Defence* will furnish instances (to borrow the Advocate's favourite figure) of his truth and candour ;—his observations on this effort of his Patron, to chase the Nabob from his residence at Madras, exhibits a rare specimen, not of those qualities only, but of his wit and penetration. In all the verbose pomposity of his *own style* (for no man ever wrote like him) he expatiates on his Lordship's introduction to this motion, * descants on the inconveniencies which must arise from the residence of *a man* within the Bounds of the Company, claiming to himself the Rights of an Independent Prince, and to his dependents an exemption from the restraints of Law. He then declares, " That within the short time of Lord Pigot's administration, these claims of the Nabob had more than once reduced " his Lordship *almost* to the necessity of choosing *between* a total " rupture with the Nabob, OR, a total dereliction of the powers " of government. †—Then follow a long string of impertinent Interrogatories too tedious to recapitulate, and which the Author closes with asserting, " That, not from the civil Laws alone, " was this exemption claimed, but also from the jurisdiction of " the Criminal Courts."—And how does all this appear?—I shall here give the evidence of this charge, and a *justification* of his Lordship's Motion, *most ingeniously* deduced therefrom, in the Advocate's own Words.

* See *Defence*, page 162.

† The Necessity of choosing *between* one inconvenience, OR another is, I believe, a dilemma never before heard of : It was therefore happy for his Lordship, that he was only *almost* reduced to so strange an embarrassment.

HIS

“ His Lordship (says this astonishing Writer) *speaks of robberies * committed; of children stolen; of tortures inflicted; of murders perpetrated.* Of these atrocious acts He speaks as of events, which had fallen within his own observation; which were *notorious* to the Board. † Under these circumstances, what was a Governor to do? Was He to suffer informations of such atrocious crimes to pass unnoticed? Ill, surely, would he deserve the trust reposed in Him. Was He not passive? Did He fulfil the first duty of government—protect the oppressed, and and punish the oppressors?—Again He was accused of violating the dignity, and degrading the Honour, and wounding the feelings, of the Nabob. It was, therefore, *to avoid this, and every other, occasion of giving disgust, or of exciting discontent; it was effectually to prevent all misunderstandings,* that the President moved to recommend it to the Nabob to reside there, where every Prince ought to reside, in his own Dominions, at his own Capital—in Arcot.”

BUT I promised a specimen of our Author's Wit. And on this occasion I may be permitted to felicitate his readers, on the Majority's consisting of the lucky Number of *Seven*: Had they been formed of one more, or one less, or of almost any other number than *Seven*, what an immense loss of wit and humour

* See *Defence*, page 163.

† A considerable Majority of the Board, as we have before observed, express their absolute ignorance of these NOTORIOUS events, *lamenting that the president had not before communicated these matters to them, that the Offenders might have been brought to trial.* This the Advocate perfectly knew when he had the—what shall I call it?—to dare so shameless an Assertion, as that these pretended Robberies, murders, and atrocious cruelties were NOTORIOUS to the Board.

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must those readers have sustained ! Who but must split his sides with laughing, every time he hears this *foolish* Majority called the *Seven Wise Men*—this *timid* Majority called the *Seven Champions* ; —and this *Wicked* Majority—*The Faction of Seven* ? In truth our Author has been so intolerably comical on this occasion, that, in the course of his performance, I believe, without exaggeration, he has given the Majority one or other of these droll appellations not not less than seven hundred times.

BUT to give one particular and very choice instance of our Author's Wit ;—It had been observed by the Majority, in the Minute they entered in Consultation, in opposition to the President's Motion, for driving the Nabob from his Palace at Madrafs, and forcing him to reside at Arcot ; “ That were he (the Nabob) “ to leave Madrafs, great numbers of people would follow him, “ and the Company's revenues thereby be decreased :” To which the Advocate archly and triumphantly subjoins, “ That, if the “ Nabob retired, the Inhabitants of Madrafs would be diminished by ONE ; that, if his dependents followed him, the Inhabitants of Madrafs would be diminished by just the number of these Dependents,” are discoveries which the *seven wise Men of Gotham* might have made, as well as the *seven wise Counsellors of Fort St. George*.—This is really curious.—No man, it must be allowed, ever took more pains, or went farther out of his way for a little Wit than our Author has done, and if he has not succeeded, the greater his misfortune. If the critics will not allow to this kind of writing the appellation of wit, they will at least, I hope, permit me to call it inventive dullness.

It may, perhaps be attributed to want of candour, should we dismiss the consideration of Lord Pigot's Motion, " For recommending to the Nabob to reside at Arcot," without taking notice of what has been urged in defence of it, as well by the Advocate himself, as by the ingenious and candid Mr. Dalrymple, on the ground of "no compulsion being intended," and that nothing was meant by the Motion, but to give the Nabob to understand, that if he thought proper to remain at Madrafs, after this very civil recommendation from the Board to retire to Arcot, he must from thence expect that a regular course of justice would take effect, and not complain. The answer, however, is obvious, and is not in the least affected by the idle pretensions, * or delusive Arguments of either of these Gentlemen. If no compulsion was intended,—or if the Nabob *could not* be forced to quit his Palace,—or if he was not to be terrified into certain compliances by the apprehension of compulsory measures,—there could not then exist any reason for the Motion, and nothing could possibly be more idle and nugatory :—A Charge which I think our Author would by no means admit against his all-accomplished Patron.

It will not be necessary to the intention of *this part* of my Treatise, which aims chiefly to detect and expose the Falsehoods and Sophistry of the Author of *The Defence*, to give a complete Journal or regular History of the Proceedings of the Council, from the present period, to the Suspension of Lord Pigot. It will be sufficient to take a cursory and concise consideration of the most material transactions as they happen to occur ; from which will arise a vindication of the just and necessary Measures of the Ma-

* See a very curious Argument among the notes of *The Defence*, p. 164.

jority,

majority, and their reputations be rescued from the traducing and virulent imputations of Lord Pigot's Advocate. As a great number of the disputes in Council, after Lord Pigot's return from Tanjore, were occasioned by Mr. Benfield's Claims, founded on his *tunkas* or mortgages made to him by the Nabob, for securing the repayment of a very large debt; as a further security for which the Nabob had ordered gifts belonging to the Circar to be deposited with the mortgages as collected, —I shall first take a brief review of this matter, and make some observations on the conduct of Lord Pigot, and the Proceedings of the Board thereon; from which it will appear in what manner Mr. Benfield's Claims militated with his Lordship's views at Tanjore, and some light be thrown on the General subject of these Papers.

THE support which this Gentleman's Claims received, we are told by the Advocate, had no small share in overthrowing the Government at Fort St. George. In that spirit of candour and politeness, which so happily distinguishes the manners of our Author, he announces a gentleman of the first credit and reputation in Madras, by calling him *a Man of the name of Benfield* *. It would indeed be no less tedious than useless, to pursue the Advocate through all the bye-paths and confused windings in which he lo-

* This contemptuous manner of speaking of his betters, is very common with this Writer, and what he seems to value himself upon greatly: An instance of which, not less ridiculous than impudent, may be seen, page 151 of *The Defence*, where he introduces one of the most respectable of the Council, merely on account of his voting for the first time against the President, by calling him—*a Mr. Brooke*.

ses himself merely to mislead his reader ;—but from the account I am about to give of the nature of these Claims, and of the disputes which they occasioned, the Public will, I trust, be enabled to form a juster opinion on the Subject than can easily be collected from the misrepresentations and *égarements* of this diffuse and partial Writer.

THE Claims of Mr. Benfield on the Tanjore Country are comprised under the following heads.

Pagodas.

First. For money advanced to the Nabob at various times, and for which his Highness gave him a Mortgage of the Revenues of part of the Tanjore Country. 369,090

Second. For 20,000 Pagodas paid to Nizab Cawn, at Tanjore, for his Troops in 1775, for which he received orders on the Subah of Papanaschem;—and 15,000 more, paid to the Nabob's people at Tanjore for the service of the Fort in 1774, for which he had Orders on the Subah of Puttocotah from the Nabob. 35,000

Third. Advances made to the Inhabitants of Tanjore through the Circar, as a security for which he had taken the Bonds of Ameer ul Umrah, the Naib or Manager of the Tanjore Country at the time;—

time;—and also the assignments of the Inhabitants' Bonds to the Ameer, as a Collateral Security. 120,659

N. B. This last Sum was advanced by Mr. Benfield to enable the Inhabitants to carry on the cultivation, and it was agreed it should be discharged from their share of the present crop, according to the custom of the Country.

MR. BENFIELD had also Claims on many of the Inhabitants, independent of his concerns with the Circar.

IN order to obviate certain injurious insinuations thrown out in *The Defence*, it may be proper to premise that a very considerable, if not the greater part of these large sums, with which Mr. Benfield had supplied the Nabob, had been borrowed on his own credit of various Hindoo Merchants, who chose rather to lend Money to Mr. Benfield on legal interest, than to the Nabob at a higher rate; as, in the first instance, they were more certain of a regular repayment. These loans, notwithstanding the specious objections made to them by Lord Pigot and the Minority, had been experienced to be no less advantageous to the Interests of the Company, than highly convenient and serviceable to the Nabob; and had, during the Government of Mr. Wynch, received the sanction of some of the Members of the present Minority.

WHEN Lord Pigot was preparing for his Expedition to Tanjore, Mr. Benfield waited upon his Lordship, and represented to

him the nature of his property and Claims in the Tanjore Country, and received from him many particular assurances favourable to his application. His Lordship told him, that if he sent a person to represent to him on the spot what was his property, it would be sufficient; whereupon Mr. Benfield proposed, that if it was agreeable to his Lordship, he would himself attend for that purpose; his Lordship desired he would do so, and Mr. Benfield accordingly accompanied him to Tanjore.

continued to the custom of the country, and

LORD PIGOT arrived at Tanjore on the 8th of April. Before this period he had been made sensible by his Companions in that Expedition, that he had acted rather impolitically in permitting Mr. Benfield to accompany him. Mootoo Kistnah, his Dubash, the active Manager of Lord Pigot, and the Interpreter between him and the Rajah, gave information of Comaroo's visit to the Rajah. His Lordship was made to perceive very clearly how much the Claims of Mr. Benfield would clash with his own views;—it was necessary therefore to throw an odium on the Claimant, and it was to answer this purpose, as well as those which have been already pointed out, that Comaroo, the Factor of Mr. Benfield, should be publickly stigmatized by the infamous punishment which was inflicted on him. This outrage could not but surprise and alarm Mr. Benfield in a great degree: he saw his situation, which was doubtless not a little embarrassing; and how to act in it required some consideration. He was a man of too much consequence and spirit to submit quietly to the foul play which was too palpably intended him; but common prudence dictated a certain degree of caution in his remonstrances with this unbridled Despot.—He therefore, four days after, on the 13th of April, wrote to his Lordship, giving him an account of the

Assignments

Assignments that the Nabob had made to him of that Country for money lent, and, also, of his Highness's Orders for the Payment of other money due from him, and of the assignments of the Inhabitants payable from their shares of the crops, according to the custom of the Country :—He then tells his Lordship that, understanding the people in authority from the Nabob were not yet removed from their stations in the several districts, he trusted, that when a change should take place, his Lordship's justice would secure to him the recovery of his money :—And in a Postscript says, that he had acquainted his Lordship at Madras generally of his Claims on the Tanjore Country, but that for his more particular information he had taken the liberty of making the present address.

To this Letter Mr. Benfield the same day received an answer from his Lordship of a complexion but little correspondent with the assurances he had given him at Madras, and which wore an hostile aspect to his Claims: The Letter purported, “ That his Lordship being authorized only to carry into execution the Orders of the Court of Directors for restoring the Rajah, and being by those Orders commanded to assure the Rajah in the Company's name,

“ THAT they will severely punish every Military Officer, or Company's Servant, who shall in any respect interfere in the affairs of his Government, and to take especial care that this Article be punctually fulfilled ;”

“ He

“ He was unable, without the assistance of his Council, to say
 “ any more in reply to Mr. Benfield’s Letter, than that he would,
 “ on his return to Madras, lay the same before the Board.”

THE next day Mr. Benfield replied to his Lordship, acknowledging the honour of his Letter, and telling him, “ that he
 “ could not conceive that his setting forth to his Lordship his
 “ first Claims to the Tanjore Country could be in any respect
 “ considered to interfere in the affairs of the Rajah’s Govern-
 “ ment ; or that it could be the intention of the Court of Di-
 “ rectors, that by the execution of their Orders, he should be
 “ deprived of his Right : And finally observed, that the mode
 “ proposed by his Lordship would occasion delay and be hurtful
 “ to his affairs, if the Revenues assigned to him should be other-
 “ wise applied than in payment to his Servants, who were then
 “ in the different Countries for the purpose of receiving
 “ them.”

A FEW hours after he had dispatched this Reply, he waited on his Lordship, and took occasion to tell him that if he had been as explicit as he was in his Letter of yesterday, when he (Mr. Benfield) applied to his Lordship at Madras, it would have been totally unnecessary for him to have attended his Lordship at Tanjore.

THIS conduct of his Lordship was matter of great mortification and alarm to Mr. Benfield, who now perceiving himself in danger of being ruined by his Lordship’s management at Tanjore, immediately returned to Madras. As soon as he arrived there, he applied by Letter to the Board, representing that he had hoped he should have had no occasion to address them on the
 subject

subject of his Claims on the Tanjore Country, as he flattered himself no change, occasioned by the Orders of the Company, would have affected the concerns of individuals, entered into with good faith, and confidence in the Government that subsisted at that time;—he then gives an account of his having attended the President at Tanjore, that he might be at hand to explain to him any particulars he might wish to be informed of respecting his concerns;—and, reciting the Correspondence between himself and the President at Tanjore, as above set forth, he takes the liberty of laying the same before the Board, in full confidence that they will afford him all reasonable assistance for the recovery of his property, while his Lordship under their Commission should remain in Authority over that Country.

THE Board, in Consultation upon this application of Mr. Benfield, came to a Resolution, on the Motion of Mr. Stratton, the President for the time being, “That a Copy of Mr. Benfield’s Letter be transmitted to Lord Pigot, and the consideration of it deferred until his return;”—informing his Lordship that the grain mortgaged to Mr. Benfield should not be meddled with either by him or the Rajah, until the Board should come to a determination concerning it.

MR. BENFIELD had hardly turned his back on Tanjore, when the Grain of the present Crop delivered over to him by the Circar, on account of his Claims, was seized by the Company’s troops and the people of the Rajah. They also took possession of the grain which, on account of the debts of the inhabitants to the Circar, had been assigned over and delivered to him, drove his people from their stations in the mortgaged districts, and hindered

hindered them from collecting the debts of the inhabitants, which had been also assigned to him, — stopped the sale of the Grain of the last year, which he had received from the Nabob on account of former loans, in the different parts of the Tanjore Country; — after which they seized his Grain in other places, drove away his people from collecting the debts due from the Inhabitants, and took possession of the Grain, which those inhabitants had mortgaged as a security for their debts; and delivered over to his people. — All these proceedings he complains of to the Board, soon after Lord Pigot's return, as acts of violence and injustice; observing that in the most cruel time of War, the property of individuals had always been held sacred by the Conquerors; — that this principle had been observed throughout America and the West Indies all the last War, where the greatest change of Sovereignty had taken place; — from whence he infers the peculiar hardship and injustice of his case, should he be deprived of his property, and reduced to ruin, by the measures of the Government he lives under, and from which he might more reasonably expect support and protection.

THESE representations of Mr. Benfield were ordered to lie on the table for the consideration of a full Board, and he was required in the mean time to furnish vouchers, and to give every necessary information relative to the nature and circumstances of his Claims, and the periods at which the several debts were contracted.

ON the 28th of May, he sends in an account of his Claims to the Board, the particulars of which he had previously furnished Lord Pigot with, when he attended him at Tanjore, and before

fore the Seapoys had taken possession of his property.—In his address to the Board on this occasion, he states very particularly the nature and circumstances of his Claims pursuant to their requisition, and gives an account of the Mortgaged revenues of grain, which were his property, and which had been seized by the direction, or under the influence, of Lord Pigot while at Tanjore; and which property, he complains, was at this time daily disposing of.

THIS address inclosed a Letter from the Nabob, certifying the several sums borrowed by his Highness, as before stated, and the Tunkas given by him on the Tanjore Country, as securities for their repayment; and also certifying the sum taken up of Mr. Benfield, by his Son Ameer-ul-Omrah, to assist him in making large advances to the Inhabitants to carry on their cultivation. He concludes, by expressing his confidence that these Representations are sufficiently circumstantial, and that the Board will see justice done to him. *

THE Board, affecting not to be satisfied with these Representations, call upon Mr. Benfield for the particulars of the sums he had received from the Tanjore Country, and for the Bonds of the Inhabitants given to Ameer-ul-Omrah, and assigned to him as a security for the money he had advanced to carry on the cultivation of the Country; and likewise for a particular account of a specified debt due to him from sundry of the inhabitants, independent of his concerns with the Circar.

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 166.

IN answer to this second requisition, he concisely repeats his Claims, under their four general heads, and renews his complaints of the injuries he had sustained from the measures and conduct of Lord Pigot, in causing his grain to be seized by the Company's troops, and in depriving him of the means of collecting the revenues. He sets forth the Nabob's acknowledgement of the Mortgage assignments, and avers, that the Deeds had been duly registered in the Cutcherry; in consequence of which he had been put into possession by the Official authority of the Dobbeer, who had doubtless made Lord Pigot acquainted with all the circumstances. He says he is not certain of the exact sum he has received, but believes it to be to the Amount of 15,000 Pagodas at most; and refers for certainty to the regular receipts taken by the Dobbeer, which will be found duly credited in his people's Accounts. The Bonds of the Inhabitants (he says) are not at Madras; from whence he concludes they are either deposited in the proper Register Office, or they are in the hands of his people to the Southward:—But he appeals to the Nabob's Letter of Certificate, as his sufficient Voucher for this claim.

THE Inhabitants (he adds) stand indebted to him for balances of account-current, the particulars of which could be furnished by a set of books only.

HE appeals to the Public Records of the Country, and to the Dobbeer, (the public Officer) for proofs of his Rights.—He calls upon the Board for justice in every particular, and for a general redress of the injuries done him by Lord Pigot;—desiring they will furnish him with a Letter to the Rajah, to cause the large quantities of grain (the produce of the last year, not of the present

present Crop,) that was his property, and in the possession of his people, to be immediately restored; and also to make restitution of the grain, which had been deposited with him by the Inhabitants for the payment of these debts; and that they should pay him such Debts as should upon proof appear justly due from them.

CERTAIN anecdotes succeed in his address, the truth of which cannot be disputed:—As they contain the most convincing evidence of the real importance of the Writer; and as the spirit manifested in the conclusion of this address, could be dictated only by conscious integrity, a generous sense of his wrongs, and a confidence in the justice of his cause, I shall give the whole in his own words.

“ MY loans and concerns with the Circar (*continues Mr. Bendafield*) have been made known to your Board in the most public manner; for I came under engagements to pay to the Dutch, the sum stipulated in the Treaty made with the Nabob in 1773. Such engagements made an article in that Treaty, which I understand received the approbation of your Board, also of the Court of Directors, and of the Courts of England and Holland.”

“ I HAVE further, within the last three years, paid into the Company’s Treasury on my own bills on the Nabob’s account, Sums to the amount of nearly twenty Lacks (2,000,000) of Pagodas.

“ AS I am addressing you upon a case of property, you will doubtless allow the degree of freedom that is necessary to support my right. I beg your leave to suggest, that I think Lord

“ Pigot in this instance becomes a Party; it is by his measures,
 “ and in the execution of his Orders, that I am deprived of my
 “ property, and driven to the brink of ruin and despair. When
 “ I appeal to your candour and to your justice, is it consistent he
 “ should be one of my judges? Had the measures I complain of
 “ been adopted by *your* particular Orders, I know not how the
 “ subject of my representations could have been a question before
 “ your Board.”

THIS Letter was consulted upon the 29th of May, when the
 President,—in answer to that part of the Letter where Mr. Ben-
 field complains of the injuries he had sustained from the mea-
 sures and conduct of Lord Pigot, while acting under the Com-
 mission of the Board, in causing his Grain to be seized by the
 Company's Seapoys, and in depriving him of the means of col-
 lecting the Revenues,—referred to the Resolution of Council of
 the 25th of March; to the Orders that were given to Cap-
 tain Mackenzie, who commanded the Battalion of Seapoys; and to
 the Form of an Order from him to such Officers as he should send
 on the detachment. These Orders being conceived in very gene-
 ral terms, directing only that the Battalion should be sent to the
 Southward, the better to enable the Rajah to collect his Reve-
 nues, and to protect the Officers thereof; It was Resolved by the
 Council, that such Orders were conformable to the Resolutions
 of the Council of the 25th of March, and the powers vested in
 the President by the Board to carry the Orders of the Compa-
 ny into execution: The Secretary was thereupon directed to fur-
 nish Mr. Benfield with a copy of the Orders given by the Presi-
 dent to Captain Mackenzie, and the form of *those* from him to
 his Officers on detachment; informing Mr. Benfield, at the same
 time,

time, that if his people could point out any Officer or Scapoy who had acted improperly,—upon his representation to the Board of the particulars of such behaviour, the necessary inquiry should be made into their conduct.

THE President then moves the following question :

“ THAT the Rajah of Tanjore being put in the full possession and management of his Country by the Company's express orders, it is the Opinion of the Board, that it is not in their power to comply with Mr. Benfield's request *in any respect*; those claims on individuals, which bear the appearance of having no connexions with Government, not being sufficiently explained to enable the Board to form an Opinion thereon, and the Assignments of the Nabob not being admissible.”

THIS question was carried in the affirmative by a Majority of six to five;—each Member in the Minority entering a Minute, that he would give his reasons in support of his dissent in the next Consultation; and the President declaring in his Minute on this occasion, “ That, in *stronger* addition to the reason contained in his Motion, he is *for* the question, because he thinks Mr. Benfield had broke thro' the standing Orders of the Company, in many instances, by his interference with the Country Government:” In support of which he produces extracts from certain obsolete Orders of the Company, of the year 1714.* For a refutation of this reason, notwithstanding its boasted co-

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 181.

gency, it will be sufficient to refer to the facts contained in Mr. Benfield's last Letter to the Board, above quoted.

ON the 3d of June, the Members in the Minority on the last question, entered their Protests. They ground their Negative on the Nabob's clear and undoubted right to the Government share of the crop growing at the time of the Rajah's restoration; in consequence whereof, all Assignments or Orders given by the Nabob on the Tanjore Country, as far as his share of the Crop would pay, ought to be valid. They shew, that the Orders of the Directors could not possibly relate to the disposal of this Crop, and might equally warrant or justify, the seizure of any other property which his Highness might possess in the Tanjore Country: And that still less could these Orders mean, that Individuals, and British subjects, living under the protection of the Company, should be, in such manner, deprived of their Property.

THEY think that the transactions on which Mr. Benfield's claims are made, have every appearance of right, and were sufficiently explained and verified; and that the Government ought to inform the Rajah thereof, and interest itself in obtaining satisfaction for Mr. Benfield.

THAT as to the Orders of 1710 and 1712, cited by Lord Pigot, they were virtually suspended by the late Act of Parliament, which expresses no limitation but as to the rate of interest; and of course, gives a general right to lend money at that interest: And that therefore, and because such loans, as well to the Nabob, as to the Inhabitants, at 12 *per cent*, are advantageous both to the Company and to the borrower, they ought to be encouraged;

ged ; and cannot possibly be considered as any way interfering with the Country Governments.

THEY reprobate the seizure of the Grain, as an act of despotism and injustice, and expressly declare that there was not the least colour or pretence for it ;—They censure the President's conduct to Mr. Benfield, and say his Lordship ought, if he judged he had no authority to give him the assistance he expected at Tanjore, to have represented all the circumstances of his Case to the Rajah, and informed him, that he would, on his return, lay Mr. Benfield's Claims before the Board for their determination.—They declare their Opinion that the Company could never mean to establish the Rajah's Government upon the ruin of individuals entitled to their protection, whether Natives or British subjects :—They cannot conceive on what principle the property of Mr. Benfield could be seized, or transferred with the Dominions of the Country :—The utmost extent of the Company's Orders were, to restore the Rajah to his Government.

MR. Brooke, who was of the Majority when the President carried this Question, next entered into an explanation of the mistaken grounds whereon he had been induced to concur in that Resolution, and moved, “ That the Board would be pleased to reconsider the Proceedings of that day ; ”—which was accordingly agreed to.

ON the 6th of June Mr. Floyer, as we have before related, took his seat in Council, when the reconsideration of Mr. Benfield's Claims were, at the instance of Mr. Dalrymple, postponed to the 10th. At this Consultation Mr. Floyer informed the Board,

Board, that the question then before them appearing to be of a very important nature, and having already greatly engaged the attention of the President and the other Members, he could not suppose himself to be a competent judge of a matter; upon which he thought the opinion to be given, should be the result of information and local knowledge obtained in every progressive stage of it;—he therefore wished to decline voting in the question:—And it was hereupon agreed farther to defer the reconsideration of it to Thursday the 13th of June.

ON this day Mr. Floyer delivered in a Minute, in which, for the reasons therein contained, he still wishes to decline giving any Opinion on the question before the Board;—But Lord Pigot and his adherents in Council, having, I suppose, taken a false estimate of Mr. Floyer, and not doubting but his attachments would be directed by his interest, insisted that it was his duty to vote in this question; and Mr. Dalrymple, more confident than the rest, stepped forward, and desired it might be minuted as his opinion, “That every Member present was bound to give his Vote.”—In reply to which Sir Robert Fletcher desired, that it might be recorded as his Opinion, “That Mr. Floyer ought *not* to vote in this business, for the reasons contained in his Minute entered upon the last Consultation, and those assigned in his Minute of to-day.”

THE President hereupon moved, that the Resolution of the 29th of May, “declaring Mr. Benfield’s Claims not to have been sufficiently explained, and the Nabob’s Assignments to be inadmissible, should stand confirmed.”

THE

THIS Question was carried against the President by a Majority of seven to five, Mr. Brooke, who had before supported it, and Mr. Floyer the new Member, now voting against it.

THE next day Lord Pigot again moved, "That all the Claims of Mr. Benfield were private, and not public concerns,"—which was also carried against him in the Negative.

AND the following Resolutions were the same day moved by Mr. Mackay, and passed in the affirmative.

1st, "That it is the Opinion of the Board, that the Nabob had a right to the Government-share of the crop in the Tanjore Country, the produce of grain sown during the time it was in his possession, and that any Mortgages he may have given on the same are good."

2d, "That a Letter be written to the Rajah of Tanjore, to inform him of the above Resolution of the Board, and to recommend to him to give Mr. Benfield all reasonable assistance, in recovering such debts as appear to be justly due to him from the inhabitants, as well as to restore to him the Grain of last year, which was in the possession of his people, and said to be forcibly taken from them."

3d, "THAT it be further recommended to the Rajah, to account with Mr. Benfield for the Government-share of the grain in the districts assigned to him by the Nabob, and said to be forcibly taken from his people."

T

I PERCEIVE

I PERCEIVE I have run more into detail on the subject of these Disputes than I was aware of; but it would not have been easy to convey a full and adequate idea of their origin and tendency, by a more general account. The impartial reader, without much painful attention, will discover from this review that the Claims of Mr. Benfield were incompatible with Lord Pigot's determination to deprive the Nabob of the Government-share of the Crop of the Tanjore Country, and he will understand, without any further explanation, why his Lordship adopted that Resolution. He will see through the President's wretched Farce in obtaining the Resolution of the Board, "That the orders given by him, while acting under their Commission at Tanjore, to the Officer commanding the Battalion of Seapoys, who seized the Grain, &c. were conformable to the Resolutions of Council, and the powers vested in him by the Board;"—he will see through the paltry affectation of ingenuity, in directing Mr. Benfield to be furnished with a Copy of the Orders given by the President to Captain Mackenzie, and the delusive assurance of making *the necessary* inquiry into the Conduct of the Officers and Seapoys, who should be pointed out as having acted improperly.—He will perceive, by considering and judging with that unprejudiced attention which the subject requires, that, whatever was the destined employment of this Battalion, Lord Pigot could not, in common policy, have given less general Orders, in Writing, to the Commanding Officer: It was enough that the Orders should only direct him to *protect the Rajah's Officers in the collection of the Revenues*; and a verbal explanation of the latitude of that protection, would be sufficient to produce the effects complained of by Mr. Benfield, and at the same time screen his Lordship from a direct responsibility. That such an explanation of these Orders were given, and that the
 ille-

illegal seizures of Mr. Benfield's property were made under the influence and sanction of Lord Pigot's authority, is, I believe, a decision so strongly impressed on the minds of every indifferent judge, and so well grounded on the most certain and unequivocal of all testimony, the *Evidentia rei*, as not to be arrested, or shaken, by all the Oratorical jargon and quaint sophistry of the Defendant's Advocate.

THE Article under consideration must not be entirely dismissed without a little further observation on our Advocate.

HE avows his ignorance of the Ideas of Justice, and of the methods of transacting Public business in India. To fits of Modesty and humility like this, our Author is not much subject: Nothing however could be more unnecessary than such an acknowledgment; as almost every page of a very large book furnishes instances of that ignorance.—His main objection to the Claims of Mr. Benfield is, that he has not produced his vouchers, though often called upon for them by the Board. What reasons Mr. Benfield might have had for not producing to the Board Copies of his Accounts-Current with the inhabitants of the Tanjore Country, exclusive of the absolute inutility of the requisition, and the great lapse of time which a compliance with it would have occasioned, I know not;—but this is certain, that in spite of the injurious and prevaricating assertions of our Author, Mr. Benfield had all the reason in the world to apprehend, as well from the general conduct of Lord Pigot, as from the contents of his Letter written at Tanjore, “ That his Lordship would exert “ all the authority of his Government against him, if he persisted in his Claims :”—And therefore if he had any cautionary

reasons for with-holding those accounts, he certainly could not be too much on his guard.

THIS Letter, in answer to an application from Mr. Benfield to his Lordship, to secure by his Authority the payment of the money due on his several claims, which, from the encouragement he had received at Madrafs, he had attended his Lordship to solicit at Tanjore :—This Letter, which calls the solicitation of these claims *interfering in the affairs of the Rajah's Government*, and pronounces a severe punishment on every Servant of the Company who should *so interfere*,—could not import any thing less to the conception of ordinary understandings, than a menace of Lord Pigot, that he would “*exert all the authority of Government against Mr. Benfield,*” if he should further insist on his right.—I venture not, however, to declare this opinion, but with proper caution, and with the deference due to the “*finer eyes and more delicate perceptions,*” which our Advocate, and the friends of Lord Pigot, lay an exclusive claim to, and by which they are so well enabled to see and judge of every thing, totally different from the rest of the world*.

AFTER sporting through a number of pages, in his usual vein of pleasantry, on the Subject of Mr. Benfield's vouchers, and his reluctance to produce them, the Advocate comes at last to the Nabob's Mortgages. Well !—What are these ?—Why truly these are no Vouchers ; nor any thing like Vouchers. And why ?—Because, as this great Lawyer gravely and authoritatively pronounces, *They are not good in Law* :—They were given to Mr.

* See *Defence*, page 238.

Benfield,

Benfield, by a man whom his Masters had declared to be a *tortious* possessor, against a man declared, *by the same Masters*, to be the *rightful* possessor. This formidable objection it will be sufficient now to answer, by referring to the Resolution of the Board of the 13th of June, which declares the Nabob's right to the growing Crop,—substantiates the Legality of his Mortgages to Mr. Benfield,—destroys the objection of want of vouchers to the whole of this Debt,—and is more decisive on this question, than would be a hundred *declarations* of the Directors.

THERE now remains *unvouched* only the comparatively very small debts of 60,000 Chuckrams due on the Balance of Accounts-current from the Inhabitants of Tanjore :—And as, in respect to these debts, Mr. Benfield only requested a recommendation from the Board to the Rajah, not to oppose his recovering such of them as should, *upon legal proof*, appear *justly due* to him ;—why Vouchers for these debts, under such circumstances, should be required of Mr. Benfield by the Board, can never be shewn, I believe, to *common eyes and ordinary perceptions*.

THE Advocate calculates the aggregate of Mr. Benfield's claims to the amount of 234,000 pounds Sterling, and then exclaims, “ A goodly sum for any subordinate servant of the Company to have advanced ! ”—That Mr. Benfield has acquired a handsome fortune in the service of the Company, is a truth which seeks no concealment ; for it is well known he has acquired it, like a worthy faithful Servant, by means not only compatible with, but greatly conducive to the true interests of the Company, and to the general good of the Settlement :—But it is also as well known, that the greater part of this large sum (as I have before shewn) was
taken

taken up by Mr. Benfield upon his own credit, for the equal accommodation of the Company and of the Nabob.—It was, however, necessary to the cruel purposes of this Writer, to make Mr. Benfield enormously rich, that he might the more easily impose on the credulity of his readers, a Charge of such a magnitude in wickedness as, one would willingly hope, the utmost depravity of human nature is incapable of deserving;—a Charge unsupported by the least shadow of evidence; the mere creature of his own slanderous imagination.

ENDEAVOURING by a train of falsehoods, to refute the charge contained in Mr. Benfield's complaints, "that a quantity of his Grain of the preceding year, had been seized by the Company's Seapoys;" the Advocate directly asserts, "That no grain of Mr. Benfield's was ever seized;—That all the old grain belonging to him, was the remains of some bought up in the preceding year, with A VIEW OF CREATING AN ARTIFICIAL FAMINE, and which, at this time, being damaged, and not fit for use, was not worth seizing."—He then proceeds and asserts (with that absurd inconsistency which almost continually attends him) "That the seed sold to the inhabitants, was part of the corn which Benfield had bought up *with a view of creating an artificial famine*, and which the Son of the Nabob, to serve the purposes of Benfield, had compelled the Inhabitants to purchase at an extravagant price."

LET the reader consider for a moment the horrid nature of this charge.—What is it less than to accuse a man of fair character and unfulled reputation, of an intention to grind the faces of the

the poor, to fatten on the calamities and distresses of his fellow-creatures, to perpetrate murders out of number, to depopulate and spread devastation over a whole country,—for the paltry consideration of a little pelf? Who, that could apostrophize like our Author, but would, on such an occasion, exclaim to Heaven and Earth for due vengeance on so vile a calumniator,—and warm the imagination of his readers with the most animated description of the honest resentment A MANSFIELD would feel, the noble indignation he would glow with, to inspire a jury with the idea of that full measure of damages they ought to award, as an exemplary punishment of so wicked a libeller*.

WE pass now to the Proceedings which immediately succeeded Lord Pigot's Motion for driving the Nabob to Arcot. From hence to the time of his Lordship's suspension, exhibits a continued series of such unconstitutional and arbitrary conduct, as I believe was never before attempted by any English Governor. I shall only give such a concise narrative of the most striking of these violent acts, as may serve to introduce a few necessary observations upon them, and upon what has been urged in their defence.

* After labouring to refute the claims of Mr. Benfield, and to shew the weakness of the evidence on which they are supported, our Author breaks out into this elegant and beautiful Apostrophe.---Good Heavens! How would that man be *received* by A MANSFIELD, who should dare *to get up* in the Court of King's Bench, and endeavour to support a Claim for a quarter of a Million upon *such evidence as this!*—I hope in return for so paltry a Compliment, the Noble judge who presides in that court will, the first time the Advocate *gets up* there, give him such a *set-down* as he deserves.

ON

ON the 24th day of June, It was moved in Council, " That the Resolution on the Nabob's Letter, carried by the President's casting vote, should be rescinded;" on the ground of the President's being a party concerned, and on Mr. Brooke's having delivered a doubtful opinion when the question was agitated. To this succeeded Sir Robert Fletcher's motion, " That the Resolution, That no Member in Council should visit or correspond, by writing or by message, with the Nabob or either of his sons, *should also be rescinded.*"

THE President, depending on the attachment of Mr. Floyer, the new Member, which would have balanced the defection of Mr. Brooke, and still preserved a Majority to his Lordship by his own casting vote, gave no opposition to the reconsideration of the Resolution of the 29th of May, on the claims of the Nabob and Mr. Benfield on the Tanjore Country;—and, on the 13th of June, in absolute confidence of Mr. Floyer's voice, moved, " That the said Resolution should stand confirmed;" which, as I have before shewn, was carried against him by a majority of seven to five. Stung with a disappointment so unexpected, and which threatened destruction to all his views, he found himself now reduced either to renounce those views, or to obtain them by assuming a despotic power unknown to the constitution of that Board, and contrary to the general practice of the Councils of the other Presidencies in India.—He pretended, that he had *graciously*, at the desire of Mr. Brooke CONSENTED to the Resolution of the 29th of May, because private property was then concerned; but positively declared, that he would never give his consent, that the question now moved by Sir Robert Fletcher should be put. He insisted, that the business of the Board must constitutionally originate

nate with the President ; and that he had an undoubted right to prevent any question being put which he did not approve of ;— and declared, That a Resolution of the Majority of the Board could not be carried into execution without his concurrence. *

HIS Lordship having thus thrown off the mask, and made these direct and open claims to despotism, the Majority, the next day, July the 9th, entered a Minute, in which they declare, “ That these Doctrines and Claims of Lord Pigot, were incompatible with the Rights of the other Members of the Government, and that dangerous consequences might ensue from the admission of such unconstitutional and arbitrary principles. “ They insist on the Government being vested in a Majority of the Board, and on the existence of such Majority, whether the President be of it or not.”—They know their rights, but, in the spirit of moderation which accompanies them thro’ the whole course of their unavoidable opposition, they express their hopes that they shall never be driven to the painful necessity of exerting those rights ; and therefore, they also hope, that as the Opinions of the Majority of the Board are for rescinding the Resolution for prohibiting visits or messages between the Nabob’s family and the Council, it will be sufficient for them to declare on this occasion, that the same is *legally*, though not in the usual form, *rescinded*.]

It may be proper, in order to bring to the Reader’s view, every material circumstance which was conducive, or has any necessary relation, to the Suspension of Lord Pigot, to observe in this

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. I. p. 318. At a Consultation of the 8th July, 1776.

place, that Sir Robert Fletcher had, on the 25th of June, laid before the Board a Letter addressed to him from Colonel Stuart, in which he represented to Sir Robert, as Commander in Chief, that from the best information he had been able to obtain, respecting the importance of the several Military posts, it appeared that the Command of the troops in the Fort and Garrison of Tanjore, with the dependencies in that Country, was, at the present Crisis, the most important of any under the Presidency; and as, according to the general practice and course of Military service, the most responsible Command, not occupied by the Commander in Chief, belonged to him as Second in command, he desires Sir Robert to submit to the consideration of the Board, if he (Colonel Stuart) should not be appointed to the Command of the Fort and Garrison at Tanjore.

THE Presidency at this time was greatly alarmed with rumours of considerable armaments fitted out from France, and destined for the East Indies. The Commander in Chief, as well for this reason as for those assigned in Colonel Stuart's Letter, recommended that he should be appointed to the Command of Tanjore, deeming it highly necessary at such a conjuncture, to have the sentiments of so able and experienced an Officer, upon the defensive state of the Fort and Country of Tanjore: The Colonel was accordingly appointed to that Command, but not without the utmost opposition on the part of Lord Pigot and his faithful adherents.

It was not till the first of August, upwards of three weeks after he was appointed, that Colonel Stuart had Official notice of his appointment, when he received orders from the Board, to hold himself

himself in readiness to proceed to Tanjore : And on the 19th of August Sir Robert Fletcher, who, from indisposition, was incapable of attending in Council, sent Instructions for Colonel Stuart, to be laid before the Board for their consideration.

LORD Pigot having found it highly convenient, for the accomplishments of his Business at Tanjore, to establish a subordinate Chief and Council there, composed of his own adherents,—the Rajah, whom we can only consider as the mere engine of his Lordship's purposes,—“ as the puppet squeaking to the breath of the prompter,”—is made, in order to lay a foundation for this Measure, to propose (among other marks of his gratitude to the Company) “ That they should send proper persons, to attempt an investment in his Country, where they might be certain to meet with every support and assistance that could be received from the Rajah's Authority.”

ON this ground, then, the President moved for the Appointment of a Chief and Council at Tanjore, subordinate to the Presidency of Fort St. George. The Reader should be here reminded of the strict orders of the Directors, “ That none of the Company's Servants should on any pretence whatsoever, interfere in the Affairs of the Rajah's Government.”—One of the avowed purposes of this Appointment, was to be a *Check upon the Rajah*, upon the Nabob, and upon the neighbouring Polygars.—So direct a violation of those Orders, if there had been no other objection to the Measure, it was the duty of every Member to oppose:—But the Majority perceived the sinister purposes for which this scheme had been adopted, and the necessity of preventing it. Sir Robert Fletcher therefore moved the previous

Question; which the President absolutely refused to put: The Majority protested against this conduct as unconstitutional and arbitrary; but unwilling to proceed to extremities, they acquiesced in the appointment of another day for the consideration of the question; when it accordingly came on, and was rejected by a Majority of seven to five.

THE Advocate informs us, that the advantages proposed by the intended Establishment, were partly Commercial and partly Political. By its rejection, the commercial advantages were for the present abandoned; but (as we are further informed) his Lordship conceived that a mode might yet be found of securing, to a certain degree, the Political advantages. This was to be done by the appointment of a RESIDENT to the Court of Tanjore. And among the whole Board, who so very fit for this very honourable, very important, and very confidential station as Mr. Ruffel?—A Man to whom envy itself could start no objection: Who, to calmness of temper, and politeness of manners, unites acknowledged abilities and unimpeached integrity:—A consummate Politician! A Man, whom that discerning Prince, the Rajah himself, esteemed for these rare qualities, these singular accomplishments.—A Man better qualified for this delicate Negotiation, could not therefore have been found. *

* It appears from *The Defence*, p. 175, that a certain Writer had asserted (for what purpose is not very material) that Mr. Ruffel was to marry Lord Pigot's Daughter. This the Advocate attempts to refute in a way truly ridiculous. "How came He (demands his Lordship's Council) to be so well acquainted with the domestic arrangements of Lord Pigot and of Mr. Ruffel? How came He to know that Mr. Ruffel is to marry a Daughter of Lord Pigot's? Did this Writer draw

To secure then these *Political advantages*, the President moved in Council, that Mr. Ruffel should be appointed Resident at Tanjore. This appointment was very warmly opposed, and in the course of the Debate, many very important objections were made to the measure. The Reader will be surprised to find the numbers on this question equally divided;—but so it was; and Mr. Ruffel was appointed Resident at Tanjore, by the casting Voice of the President.

MR. STRATTON was the Member in the Opposition, who, by voting for the Appointment of Mr. Ruffel, made the number equal, and gave the question to the President's casting voice. By what means this was occasioned is no part of Lord Pigot's Case;—his Advocate does not therefore meddle with it; but leaves it to be explained by those whom it may concern:—This must therefore be my Province.

MR. RUSSELL and Mr. Stratton had been intimate from their early youth. On the arrival of the former with Lord Pigot, he lived with Mr. Stratton at his house. Here he took the first favourable opportunity to communicate to his friend his expectations of being appointed Resident at Tanjore, for the purpose of carrying the Intentions of the Directors into execution on the Restoration of the Rajah; and asked him for his

“draw the Articles? Did he make or witness the Settlement?”—Well then,—It appears there *were* Articles drawn;—there *was* a Marriage Settlement made and witnessed;—and if *one* Author did not draw or witness them, there was *another* who certainly *did*;—or who was privy to the business.---This brings to my mind, and perhaps will bring to the Reader's recollection, a blunder of Father Foigard in the play, not very dissimilar to this *faux pas* of our Advocate.

interest

interest for that Appointment ; which Mr. Stratton, not then aware of the views of Lord Pigot, or that such an Appointment would militate with the Orders of the Company, promised to give him. Just before this business came to be agitated in Council, both he and Lord Pigot insisted on Mr. Russell's right to the performance of Mr. Stratton's engagement ; who made every objection to the obligation of such a promise, which the circumstances of things could suggest.—These objections were not allowed. Mr. Stratton was embarrassed ; he was unwilling to abide the accusation of a breach of promise, under any mitigations,—under any implied conditions or release ;—he therefore offered to give Mr. Russell 5000*l.* if he would expressly disengage him from the obligation of his promise ; but the other absolutely refused to release him on any terms ; and Mr. Stratton therefore thought himself bound to vote for his appointment.*

A RESOLUTION then passed, after the Question had been very strenuously agitated, that Mr. Dalrymple and Mr. Russell, whom the Directors had appointed to be of the Committee to the Northern Circars, should proceed on that service on the 30th of August.

* It was after the President had refused to put the Previous question on his *Motion* for the Appointment of a CHIEF AND COUNCIL at Tanjore, and before *that Motion* had been debated upon and thrown out, that his Lordship and Mr. Russell had this interview with Mr. Stratton, and, in the manner I have related, had secured a Reserve for the Appointment of a RESIDENT : But when Mr. Stratton gave his Vote for this Measure, it was on condition that the Appointment should not interfere with the Company's positive Orders respecting the Committee to the Northern Circars.

ON

ON the 19th of August, a Draught of the Instructions relative to Colonel Stuart's Command at Tanjore, was read at the Board ; when his Lordship declared that, as he had repeatedly recommended the necessity of Mr. Russell's going to Tanjore, he would never give his sanction to any Instructions for Colonel Stuart, until that Measure should be adopted ; and absolutely refused to put the question for taking those Instructions into Consideration.

THIS Business was therefore deferred to the next day, when the President still persisted, that he would not suffer it to be agitated at the Board but upon the conditions abovementioned ;—and upon being earnestly requested by the Members in the Majority, and by Mr. Stratton in particular, that he would, according to the nature of the Constitution, and the Rules of the service, put the question for the consideration of the Instructions, he still peremptorily refused, insisting upon his right to withhold this, or any other question, from the consideration of the Board, upon the principles he had before advanced. The Majority hereupon separately recorded their approbation of Colonel Stuart's Instructions ; which, being transcribed fair for signing, together with an Order to Lieutenant Colonel Harper, directing him to deliver over the Command of Tanjore to Colonel Stuart, were presented to the President for his Signature ; but he refused to set his name to them, asserting at the same time that, *without his name*, they were not an Act of Government, and could not be put into execution.—The Majority, actuated by their wonted moderation, were still desirous to avoid proceeding to extremities, and adjourned the Council.

Two days after, the Majority delivered in their Minutes in Council, wherein they deny, that the concurrence of the President is necessary to constitute an act of Government, and declare his conduct, in this respect, to be unconstitutional and illegal. They insist, That the Minority of the Board are obliged to assist in carrying into execution the Orders of the Majority; and that the President was as much bound by those Orders as any other Member of the Board: In conclusion, they declare that, in case of the President's refusal to put a question proposed by any Member, it is the duty of the Secretary to put such question, and of every Member to answer it, at the peril of their refusal being deemed a breach of the Company's standing Orders.

IN support of this Opinion, the Members of the Majority annexed to these Minutes Extracts from *Mr. Vansittart's Narrative*; in which that Gentleman declares that he frequently signed Instructions, when Governor of Bengal, which he disapproved, conformable to the known established Rules of the Service, "That every Member shall sign the Public Orders and Records, entering his dissent when he differs in Opinion from the Majority; and that the Resolutions of the Majority were to be deemed the Resolutions of the Board."* Mr. Floyer also stated a circumstance directly in point, which happened in the year 1771, when Mr. Cartier, the then Governor of Bengal, Mr. Russell and himself, who were of the Minority in the Council of that Presidency, met with the most pointed resentment of

* See Governor Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II. p. 223, and Vol. III. p. 137.

the Court of Directors, for their conduct in opposition to a Majority. *

LORD PIGOT was then called upon, in a joint Minute under the Signature of every Member in the Majority, to direct the Secretary to sign the Instructions for Colonel Stuart, and the Directions for Lieutenant Colonel Harper; which his Lordship refusing to do, a Paper was immediately drawn up, purporting to be an Order of the Council, and intended to be signed by every Member in the Majority, directing the Secretary to sign the Instructions, &c. and to send them to Colonel Stuart.

THIS Paper was no sooner signed by Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke, than the President, as the latter was passing it for the signature of the other Members of the Majority, snatched it out of Mr. Brooke's hand, and instantly taking a prepared Writing from his pocket, charging Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke of being guilty of an act subversive of the authority of Government, *in signing orders to the Secretary to give Instructions to Colonel Stuart which had not been approved and passed by the President and Council;* he read this Writing as a Charge against these two Gentlemen, declaring, That as he had in vain *intreated* them to carry this matter no further, he was determined *to stop it where it was*. He then gave in the Paper, which he called a Charge of the highest nature against Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke; and thereupon recommended that those Gentlemen should be ordered to withdraw, that their conduct might be taken into consideration.

† Mr. Cartier was, on this occasion, recalled from the Government of Bengal.

EVERY argument that could be employed, every remonstrance that could be urged, were insufficient to check this mad career of his Lordship. One of the Members moved for an adjournment, which was seconded; but his Lordship, paying no regard to any thing but his own determinations, moved, That Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke should be now suspended the Company's Service until their pleasure should be known;—and, directing the President to take no Vote, either from Mr. Brooke or Mr. Stratton, on the pretence that by the standing Orders of the Company no Member shall sit in the Council, when a charge is brought in against him,—the Resolution was carried by Lord Pigot's casting voice.

HISTORY, I believe, furnishes no instance of a State-farce like this, so infamously degrading to the dignity of Government.—The Delicacy of the Advocate is greatly hurt by Mr. Stratton's calling this *demarche* of the President's a *trick*: And yet I am tempted to believe, that those, who are most distinguished for decency of manners and rectitude of opinion, will think that the appellation here used to convey an idea of such conduct in a Governor of Madras as would have disgraced a Court of Pyepowder, is not sufficiently descriptive, but wants the aid of some coarser epithet to give due force to it.

In this manner did the President support, what his Advocate calls the Dignity of Government: By a Bear-garden trick did he absolutely subvert the Constitution, and assume the most despotic authority.—A party in the dispute, (considering the matter in one point of view,) he arrogated to himself the incompatible characters of accuser and judge, and by the summary and decisive

elusive proceeding of thrusting out from the Council every Member who stood in his way, he would have established his own absolute Authority on the ruins of the Constitution, if the Majority had basely deserted their trust, and tamely submitted to their Suspension.

IN pursuance of this desperate Measure, his Lordship with his own hand struck out of the proceedings of the Council the Minutes of Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke, which the Secretary had entered in the Consultation of that day, and which contained the Protest of those Gentlemen against the illegality of that Measure.

It may be observed, that at this time Sir Robert Fletcher's indisposition confined him to his bed, otherwise, the prepared charge of the President must have included three Members at least, instead of two; as it would, in such case, have been indispensably necessary for the Governor to have thrust out that number of the Council to secure the Mock Resolution of the Board for such an unnatural Amputation.

It was in vain, as may be easily imagined, for the remaining four Members of the Majority to declare, that the Measures of Lord Pigot were the most violent and arbitrary ever known at any Board under an English Government; and equally ineffectual for them to urge, that the proceedings against Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke were so glaringly illegal and unjust, that they must persist in considering them as Members of the Council.—The Governor set at defiance every reason and every remonstrance that opposed his determined purposes.

THE News of this outrageous Usurpation of authority by Lord Pigot gave universal alarm, and occasioned a general consternation throughout the Settlement. The Nabob was greatly terrified, exposed, as he now appeared to be, to new injuries and insults from the Governor and his Party. The Army declined to obey Commands, which they conceived to be derived from Usurpation; the Black Merchants shut up their Shops, and every alarming symptom of anarchy and confusion began to prevail.

THE Majority were now reduced to an alternative, wherein it was impossible for them to remain long indecisive:—They had no other choice than, by a submission to the Usurpation of Lord Pigot and his Faction, to make themselves accessaries to all the evil consequences which might ensue, and become responsible at the risque of their fortunes, and with the certain loss of their fame, for all the outrageous Measures which had been hitherto adopted, and which Lord Pigot was still pursuing, in open violation of the Orders of the Company, and to the probable ruin of their affairs on the Coast;—or on the other side (the constitution of the Government being in effect subverted and destroyed) to pursue that line of conduct, which the exigence and necessity of things pointed out, and which they must have adopted in case of an Abdication in the Governor (a case certainly not stronger than that under consideration) by seizing the administration of the Government, which that necessity had now exclusively vested in them.—This they did: This they were obliged to do, or give up their names to indelible obloquy and contempt, and be considered by Posterity as a set of timid wretches, destitute of every manly sentiment, and dead to all sense of honour and of duty.

OF

Or a Government thus more than abdicated,—thus subverted and destroyed by a daring and shameless faction,—did the Majority assume the reins, on the Public calls of duty and political necessity. Their Assumption and their Administration are marked with becoming spirit, with moderation, with prudence, with humanity, and with justice:—And I dare predict, that when the weak impressions of false pity, and the prejudices of faction shall be worn away;—when the scurrilous slanders of the Advocate shall, as soon they must, be consigned to the Trunk-Maker, or the Pastry-Cook,—History shall redeem the names of these men from the transient triumphs of Calumny and Prejudice, and shew them to the world as faithful Delegates, and as honest Patriots:—Characters perhaps too rare in the Indian world, and therefore the more exposed to Detraction.

IN the afternoon of the 22d of August, the Secretary, by the directions of Lord Pigot, sent special Summonses to the several Members whom he had permitted to remain of the Council, including Mr. Lathom, Chief of Cuddalore, who had been several days at the Presidency, but who had not till this time been ever required to attend the Board.—It will occur to the Reader, that it was necessary to detain this Gentleman, who was firmly attached to the interests of Lord Pigot, for the purpose of securing a Majority by the President's casting voice, in case Sir Robert Fletcher should again be able to attend the Board;—as otherwise his Lordship must have had recourse to the violent and dangerous Measure of a second Expulsion.

THE Majority had hitherto, as we have seen, preserved the utmost moderation, and tried all means that prudence could possibly

sibly suggest, to avoid coming to extremities. This moderation was imputed to their timidity; and, instead of checking, had been rather a spur to the Governor's violence, and increased those evils, which, perhaps in better policy, should have been at first more vigorously opposed. They now found it necessary, therefore, to exert themselves in some decisive manner, and accordingly sent a Protest to Lord Pigot, of the following purport:

THAT the Majority of the Board, taking into serious consideration the proceedings of the two last Meetings, more particularly the unexampled Outrage offered to the Constitution, by an attempt to suspend two of their number *by a trick*, for the purpose of gaining a Majority, were of opinion, that the Public safety was in danger by the conduct of Lord Pigot, Messrs. Rufel, Dalrymple, and Stone, who had supported, and by every person who should continue to support, such measures, &c.—That they considered themselves as the only Legal representatives of the Company under the Presidency, and as such, doubted not but all the Servants of the Company would regard them,—That for these reasons, and because of the illegal omission of the names of Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke in the Summons of that morning, they could not, consistent with their duty to the Company, attend the said Summons.

IN consequence of this Public act of the Majority, Lord Pigot immediately ordered the Commander in Chief under arrest, and issued Letters of Suspension to the four remaining Members, who, with the Commander in Chief, Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke, composed the legal Majority of the Council.

It now became a necessary step, in the natural order of things, as well for the protection of the Nabob, as for the immediate prevention of the dangerous consequences, that from the violent Measures of Lord Pigot and his faction must otherwise have ensued, that the Majority should immediately and effectually take on themselves the Executive power of Government; in which they were not only warranted by the constitutional Principles of the Government, but by the supreme Law of necessity.

THE President and Council of Madras were now composed of Mr. Stratton, who was before Second in Council, of the Commander in Chief, and of the other Members in the late Majority. They immediately conferred the Command of the Army and Garrison, during Sir Robert Fletcher's indisposition, on Colonel Stuart; and, having consulted with him, and taken the necessary measures and precautions for securing the Fort, Garrison, and Fort-house, under their Command, they gave him directions, if he should find it necessary, to arrest the Person of Lord Pigot, or of any other person who should obstruct him in the execution of their Orders; enjoining all the Company's Servants, civil and military, and all persons who lived under the protection of their Government, to give him every aid and assistance in their power; and in consequence of these Orders, his Lordship was accordingly arrested by Colonel Stuart, and delivered into the custody and charge of Major Horne, the Commanding Officer at St. Thomas's Mount, with express and particular instructions to treat his Lordship with every possible mark of attention and respect.

THERE

THERE are certain Positions which, though they cannot in the most strict sense be called self-evident, are but very little the subject of reasoning. The learned Author of *The Restoration considered*, will admit this in many instances. As to Lord Pigot's refusing to carry the Resolutions of the Majority of the Board into execution, and afterwards expelling two Members of the Council by artifice and violence, merely to destroy that Majority, to annihilate the power of his Council, and thereby in effect vest a Despotism in himself;—whether this conduct of his Lordship, from what has been previously proved respecting the Constitution of the Government of Madras, does not so obviously justify the Majority, in resuming the powers of a government so subverted, as to preclude all reasoning on the subject, or at least render it nugatory and useless, is a question that I think may safely be left to the decision of any unprejudiced person.

I AM not ignorant that there are, besides the Advocate, who affect to maintain a Constitutional right vested in the President, to negative any question carried by a Majority. In support of this strange Position, they have recourse to one argument, on which they seem to place their whole reliance, and which the late Court of Directors have adopted in their Publication of Original Papers.

THEY reason in this manner: They assert, that the *Original Constitution* of any Government, can only be determined by *ancient Records*:—That the Records of the Government of Madras, do not afford one single instance of an act of Government, without

out the President's concurrence; and that therefore the powers of Government cannot constitutionally be vested in a Majority of the Members, independent of the President. And nothing can, they also conclude, be more unjust than to judge of the propriety of Lord Pigot's conduct on this occasion, by a reference to the Declarations of the Court of Directors on this point, in their Letter to Bengal, which his Lordship had not seen.—It is impossible, I believe, to imagine any thing more puerile or more nonsensical than this *Argument*, if I may be excused for calling it *so*: Every one must see, that the above inference, which renders the Council mere cyphers, and vests a despotism in the President, cannot possibly be deduced from the premises above laid-down,—nor from any premises that were ever yet proved or admitted in this Question. All that can be inferred, *from what does not appear on the Records*, relative to this point is, that no President had ever before claimed any such despotic power, or ever refused his assent to any Order voted by a Majority of the Board: For if such assent had ever been refused; if such a power had ever been arrogated by a Governor, and submitted to by the Majority, it would doubtless have been recorded; and might in that case with some colour have been urged as a Precedent.

THE other part of the Argument, though much relied on by the Directors, and published by them in an abrupt *Nota Bene*, among their *Original Papers*,* is not less futile than that which I have now examined.—It was by no means necessary for the information of Lord Pigot respecting the Constitution of the Government in which he presided, that he should have seen the ge-

* See Copies of Papers, Vol. II. p. 42.

neral Letter from the Directors to Bengal by the Lioness: He wanted no such information;—no man better knew the Constitution than his Lordship:—That the whole powers of Government existed in a Majority of the Members of the Council;—That such had ever been its Constitution, confirmed by the general practice of all the Presidencies in India,—his Lordship perfectly knew: For an incontestible proof of this, (if proof were necessary) we need only refer to the Minute of Mr. Floyer, before quoted.

THE General Letter from the Directors to Bengal, did not create a new system of Government there, but was only declaratory of the Constitution which had from the first existed, as well in That as in the other Presidencies in India; and was written by the Directors, to prevent all pretence in future, for a President's arrogating a power absolutely inconsistent with the Principles of a free Government.

BUT, to put the question out of the reach of all doubt or cavil, the Directors themselves, at the same time that they so inconsistently and unjustly censure the conduct of the Majority, in resuming the subverted Government of Madras, positively and expressly confirm the Principles I am contending for, in their Orders or Regulations sent over-land to India by Mr. Whitehill, declaredly for the purpose of obviating every future cause of dissension, of establishing the Authority of the Governor and Council, and of defining with precision the powers vested in each. They are as follow:

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1st, IN all cases whatsoever, wherein a difference in opinion shall arise, upon any question proposed in Consultation, the Governor and President of our Council, and the Members of such Council shall be bound, concluded, and abide by the Opinion and decision of the Major part of those present; and if it shall at any time happen by the death, removal, or absence of any of the Members of the said Council, that the Governor and Council shall be equally divided, then, and in every such case, the Governor and President, or in his absence the senior Counsellor present and presiding, shall have a casting voice, and his Opinion shall be decisive.

2d, THAT every question proposed in writing by any Member of the Council be put by the Governor, or in his absence by the Senior Member of the Council acting as President for the time being.

3d, THAT every Question carried by a Majority, shall be deemed an act of the President and Council.

4th, THAT all Orders in consequence thereof be issued in the name of the Governor or President and Council, although such Governor or President may have dissented from the Resolutions of the Board.

5th, THAT no meeting of Council be dissolved or adjourned, but by the consent of the Majority of the Members present at such meeting.

6th, THAT the President shall call a Council, at the request of any three or more of the Members of Council, signified in writing to the Secretary.

7th, THAT if at any time the President shall neglect or refuse to call a Council, at the request of three or more Members, the Secretary shall summon the Council, at the requisition of three or more Members of Council made in writing for that purpose.

8th, THAT no Meeting of the Members of Council, tho' they may be a Majority of the whole Board, unless duly summoned as aforesaid, shall be deemed a Meeting of Council; nor any act of such Members, not duly assembled, become an Act of the Council.

9th, THAT no Company's Servant, or Officer, Civil or Military, shall obey any Order or Command of the Majority of the Members of Council, unless such Order shall have been issued in the name of the President and Council, and countersigned by the Secretary.

THESE Regulations, which were discussed at two General Courts of Proprietors, and settled by the avowed friends of Lord Pigot, are notwithstanding absolutely decisive on the Question respecting the Constitution of the Government, and seem of themselves to render all argument vain and nugatory. They, in effect, condemn his Lordship's Conduct, and essentially justify that of the Majority. The last Injunction, That no order of the Majority of the Council shall be obeyed, unless issued in the name of the President and Council, gives a Constructive power to the

the Majority to issue, in that manner, any Order carried by them, without the concurrence of the President;—for if this Regulation did not admit of such a Construction, it might at any time be rendered subversive of all the other Orders; as any future Governor, under the corrupt influence of his own avaricious views, of *more direct* corruption, or even of temporary insanity, might, in such case, prevent any Resolution voted by a Majority from being carried into execution, destroy the Constitution, and ruin the Company's Affairs.

THESE Orders therefore, by necessary consequence, absolutely justify the Proceedings of the Majority, relative to the Suspension of Lord Pigot, and their Resumption of the powers of Government.—But this point has been too much laboured.—If the Reader is not perfectly satisfied from these lights, and from the above reasoning, (of which however I affect not to entertain any doubt) I may venture with confidence to refer him to the Arguments which the Advocate has employed on the other side; from whence the truth of the Positions I have endeavoured to prove will appear, from side lights, in a variety of new and striking points of view.

ON the Suspension of Lord Pigot, the Security of his Person became a necessary Measure: The manner in which this was executed, and the means employed on this occasion, have given birth to much censure, and have supplied the Advocate with an infinite source of slander and abuse, which he has poured in torrents on the first Military Officer, to whom the Government had consigned the execution of that necessary and important act.

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THERE are a sort of Men, who affect to hold their honour at a wary distance, who insist upon the indispensable obligation of romantic punctilio, and with whom Principle must always give way to Sentiment. They hold, (*some* expressly, and *all* in effect) that no act which, standing alone, and unrelative to any other, is not strictly and morally right, can alter its nature, by being employed as the means of attaining a good and necessary end, even though there are no other means that can be so effectively used for the attainment of that end. Upon such Utopian Axioms as these, they reprobate and villify the Conduct of Colonel Stuart. I shall take a slight revision of it; from which I think it will appear, on wiser and more practicable principles than those above laid down, that this Gentleman's proceedings in this arduous and important business, were not only justifiable, but highly meritorious.

IN pursuance of the powers vested in him by the appointment of the Majority as Governor and Council, Colonel Stuart, whose Political prudence and wisdom distinguish him not less than his Courage and Military knowledge, formed the plan of putting the Fortress into the possession of the new Government with as little danger and confusion as possible; he then pursued such measures as appeared to him necessary to secure Lord Pigot's person, and which were adapted to the General Ideas that prevailed of the temerity and violence of his Lordship's temper, of which he had given so many recent instances: Among these, his putting Sir Robert Fletcher under an arrest, in order to bring him to a trial by Martial Law, merely for concurring, in his Civil capacity, in an act of Government with the other Members of the Majority, was not the least alarming. This violent procedure, as it wore
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a vindictive and sanguinary complexion in the public sight, seemed to call for immediate prevention; and determined Colonel Stuart to arrest him in the Fort if necessary; and for this step, he even made the necessary preparations;—Lord Pigot, in the mean time, did not remain idle. Conscious how necessary it was for the security of himself and his adherents, to be seconded by the influence of Colonel Stuart over the Army, and by his general reputation, his Lordship threw out the strongest allurements to seduce him from his duty, by appointing him unconditionally to the Rank of Commander in Chief.

COLONEL STUART now found himself in a very disagreeable situation: This, however, did not embarrass his conduct, or draw him out of the line of his duty, which was to execute his Orders in the most effectual manner, without exciting Convulsions in the state, and producing Civil slaughter.—To this end some address was indispensably necessary, which he therefore wisely and effectually employed for the best and most valuable purposes of preventing bloodshed, and preserving peace and order.

AFTER the Fort Adjutant had, by the direction of Lord Pigot, delivered to Colonel Stuart the general Orders of the 23d of August, appointing him to the Command of the Army, the Colonel, by his Lordship's desire, met him in the Evening in the Fort Square. In this Interview, which was private, his Lordship informed Colonel Stuart, that he considered his having received the General Orders without objection, as an acknowledgment of the Authority by which they had been published. To this the Colonel avoided giving a direct answer, and pressed his Lordship to
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allow him a communication with the Records on the subject of the disputes which had brought on the present Events. His Lordship, in his turn, evaded this requisition, and pressed him to sup that Evening with him and his friends; and he accepted the invitation, on express condition, that no business should be introduced into their conversation. Lord Pigot invited him the next morning to breakfast at the Garden-house; where the Colonel delivered a Letter to his Lordship, again requesting of him a communication with the records before he was called upon for any executive act as Commander in Chief. Having read the Letter with attention, he seemed to admit the reasonableness of the request, but raised the objection of its having the appearance of making a bargain before he would take upon him to do his duty: His Lordship however invited him to dinner the next day. In the morning, Colonel Stuart again urged his request of being informed, from the Records, of the grounds of his appointment to the first Military Command; but could obtain no satisfaction. He dined with Lord Pigot, and was again invited to sup with him. By this time the Colonel had compleated his plan, and had by this management very fortunately removed the necessity of arresting his Lordship's person in the Fort; a circumstance which he regarded as a full justification of those Measures by which he exposed his conduct to the appearance of duplicity; conscious that as the means he employed could not possibly be imputed to fear, they would be justified in the public Opinion from their true motives of duty, and of the public good.

HAVING informed himself that Lord Pigot was to sup in the Country, he gave the necessary Orders to Lieutenant Colonel Edington, to Captain Lyfaught, and to Major Horne, directing the

the first to post himself in the road with a small party of Seapoys, to stop the carriage in which he would see Lord Pigot and Colonel Stuart, and to arrest his Lordship in the name of the Government, and that Captain Lyfaught should be near at hand in order to convey him to Major Horne at St. Thomas's Mount; and other proper dispositions were made in case of any alarm. Having given these Directions, Colonel Stuart, to keep the suspicions of Lord Pigot and his adherents still asleep, went to Council, where Lord Pigot arrived about half an hour after six: Messieurs Russell, Dalrymple and Stone, with his Lordship's new adherent, Mr. Latham, who had been detained for the reasons I have mentioned, with Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Baine, were present; but they did not appear regularly met, or sitting as a Board. Lord Pigot retired for a few minutes with two of his friends, and returned with his Commission of Government in his hand, which he produced for the purpose of convincing Colonel Stuart, that there was no power in the Council to suspend the Governor. Much conversation took place on this as well as on other subjects, which Colonel Stuart acknowledges he industriously spun out to gain time till it was dark. During this time, the utmost efforts of Lord Pigot and his friends were employed, to obtain from Colonel Stuart an acknowledgment of their Authority by some public act on his part, as Commander in Chief; which he declined on various pretences, as it was necessary to the success of his scheme not to avow the true reasons.— Lord Pigot had agreed to drive Colonel Stuart in his Chaise to the Garden-house; and pursuant to the arrangement, which had been settled, the Chaise was stopped on the road by Colonel Edington; and this necessary Measure thus happily executed without bloodshed or tumult.

THE general opinion established among the Servants of the Company, as well Military as Civil, was, that the Powers of Government were vested in a Majority of the Council, which could not be destroyed by the violence or artifice of a President. This Opinion soon afterwards received the Public and unanimous sanction of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, among whom there had before subsisted a long series of divisions on other political Questions. On what candid or fair ground, then, can it be doubted, that Colonel Stuart acted from a conviction of the truth of this Opinion, and from an impression of indispensable duty to support the Majority, which he, in concurrence with the rest, conceived to be the legal Government? Had he acted otherwise, had he disobeyed the Orders of the Majority, and supported Lord Pigot and his faction, a Civil war must inevitably have ensued. His Superior Officer, the Commander in Chief, had already declared and acted in support of the Majority; of which he was himself a Member; and he preserved a very powerful influence over his Officers and the Troops. If the Majority had prevailed, which from the circumstances I have mentioned, would probably have been the event of a contest attended with infinite carnage, Colonel Stuart must have fallen the first sacrifice; and, as the exciter of the war, would have been (if he had survived the field) exposed to the sentence of a Court Martial, and deservedly suffered an ignominious death.

— If such then were the Sentiments, such the Motives of Colonel Stuart;—if it was his duty to obey the Orders of the Majority, and secure to them the undisturbed exercise of the powers of Government, by putting Lord Pigot under an arrest;—it was equally his duty, and greatly to his honour, to execute so neces-

any Measure by such means as would be most preventive of civil commotion, and of danger to his Lordship's person, in case of resistance. The circumstances of this Transaction, as far as they concern the conduct of Colonel Stuart, it should be avowed are in general collected from his own Narrative; but I am warranted to assert, that whatever other circumstances have since been added to the account, which may impeach this Gentleman's moral character, or affect his honour, are absolutely untrue. If Colonel Stuart had adopted a different mode of behaviour on this occasion;—if, when he had received his Appointment of Commander in chief from Lord Pigot, or when called upon for an avowal of the usurped Authority of his Lordship and the Minority, by some public act in that capacity, he had openly declared his principles and his intentions, he would have done nothing less in effect, than have exposed to great hazard the very being of the Government it was his duty to protect, and have introduced a scene of tumult, anarchy, and civil slaughter. He therefore wisely adopted the Measures which Political necessity had imposed;—he made a slight sacrifice of Sentiment to Principle;—confident that the cautious behaviour of a man, who had through the uninterrupted course of almost thirty years, acquired and established the character of a brave and able officer, could not be imputed to fear, or to any other unworthy inducement.

The Character of an accomplished Soldier can suffer but little from the ignorant comments and pragmatistical censures of such a military Critic as our Advocate. Whatever pretence he may have to knowledge and eloquence in his Profession, he would, I fear, make but a sorry judge in a Court of honour. A more ridiculous idea can hardly enter into the human imagination, than that

of some demure figure, stuck forth in a black Gown, a starch'd band, and a tye wig in high preservation, prating of his zeal for the reputation of the Army, descanting on the delicacy of a Soldier's honour, and deciding on the obligations of a character, from all knowledge of which, he is totally secluded as well by nature, as by the worst habits of his profession.

THIS little sketch is by no means intended for a Portrait—'tis a mere fancy-piece in caricature, a few *traits* of which may possibly hit some other character, tho' they bear but little or no resemblance to the features of our Author; whose person I never saw, and of whom I know nothing but from his Book, which I am now doing myself the honour to make so free with. If I have exceeded the bounds of decency in these Strictures, I have so far been wanting in that respect, which is due to the Public, and which every man owes to himself;—but had I been ever so licentious, I should have no apology to make to the Advocate on that score, who, by setting the example, has made himself the Aggressor, and must abide all such consequences:—No Character, howsoever accomplished, however virtuous, respectable, innocent, or amiable, which this Minister of Vengeance has not immolated to the Manes of disappointed Avarice and defeated Tyranny.—The Nabob of Arcot,—The Captain General his Son,—the Governor and Council of Madras,—Mr. Benfield,—Colonel Stuart,—The Governor General, and Council of Bengal, make one general indiscriminate Sacrifice.

MR. HASTINGS, the Governor General, this Writer charges, was bribed by the Nabob; and that the Council, under the corrupt influence of their President, joined with him in support of the

the *FACTION of Seven*, whom they abetted and encouraged to suspend their Governor, and daringly to arrest him *within the Limits of his own Command*.

THE literary talents, political abilities, and public virtue, of Mr. Hastings, are so generally known and acknowledged, as to require no defence from the random aspersions of this Writer; and the name of General Clavering requires no comment. Nor is it, I believe, possible for calumny like this, to affect the reputation of either of the other Members of that Board.—Unfortunately too for this indiscriminating Detractor, Political divisions had at this period long subsisted in the Councils of Bengal; and the disapprobation of Lord Pigot's conduct was the first point of any importance, wherein the Board had been unanimous.—Our Author has at best but an awkward hand at colouring facts, or marking characters, but in this instance he *dasbed* with singular ill fortune, in applying the Epithet *OBSEQUIOUS* to the Gentlemen in the Opposition at Bengal.

BUT there is not a stronger instance of malignity in this Writer's whole voluminous Collection of slander, than his injurious treatment of Mr. Stratton. To shew the peculiar malevolence of this treatment, it will be necessary to make the Reader acquainted with this Gentleman's general reputation, and with the particulars of his situation on Lord Pigot's arrival at Fort St. George.

DURING the last Siege of Tanjore, Mr. Stratton was Chief of Vizagaputam, near six hundred miles remote from Madrafs, and could not be supposed to take any part, or to have any concern
whatsoever

whatsoever in that event; nor did there at any time exist even the slightest ground for suspicion, that he was ever engaged in Money transactions with the Nabob. Whatever fortune he possesses, he acquired by such open and direct means as his various situations fairly presented, through a long series of faithful and honourable Service. Before the Arrival of Lord Pigot, Mr. Stratton had settled his affairs, remitted his fortune, and made the necessary arrangements for quitting the service of the Company, and returning to England; and, so late as in July following, long after Lord Pigot's return from Tanjore, he had determined to go in the Greenwich East-Indiaman, which was expected from Bengal in September; so that nothing of less importance than the Dissentions and Events in Government, which intervened, could have arrested his determinations, or detained him longer from his Connections in England. These circumstances will in a great measure account for Mr. Stratton's not examining very accurately, for a time, into the Instructions which Lord Pigot brought with him for the direction of a Government, which he (Mr. Stratton) intended so soon to quit; and it will furnish a reasonable apology for his engaging to give his Voice in favour of Mr. Russel, for an Appointment, which afterwards appeared not consistent with the Orders of the Company.

WHEN Lord Pigot first took the Chair, Mr. Stratton was second in Council, and his Lordship found this Gentleman among his warmest friends, always ready to yield him almost an implicit confidence, till his intemperate Conduct at Tanjore raised a suspicion of views not warranted by his Instructions, and incompatible with the Interests of the Company, and the general welfare of the Settlement.

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IN the most quiet dispositions, the Public virtues often lie concealed, till occasion awake and call them into action.—Mr. Stratton's suspicions of the sinister views of the President, induced him to inspect with accuracy into the New Orders; and this led to discoveries that confirmed those suspicions, and, connected with the corresponding behaviour of Lord Pigot, afforded full testimony of their being founded in Truth. From this period he took an active line of Conduct, in opposing Lord Pigot's interested views; preserving, however, that temper and moderation which always manifest an opposition, not to men, but measures.

FROM his habits of life, as well as from principle, too rigidly perhaps the slave of his word, even the superior obligations of Public good could not prevail on him to violate a promise. When he had discovered, that his engagement to Mr. Russel served to promote a Measure, in open breach of the Orders of the Directors,—fearful of emancipating himself from the ties of that engagement, by having recourse to an implied condition, he generously offered Mr. Russel 5000*l.* as a compensation for his disappointment, to release him from his promise.—A man who would thus voluntarily have forfeited so considerable a sum of money, rather than be suspected of a breach of his word, or, rather than join in a Measure which he thought inconsistent with the General good, and from which no inconvenience could otherwise happen to himself,—however he may be misrepresented or reviled by Party rage or prejudice, has certainly a fair claim to the esteem of good men, and will, in spite of Slander, be honoured by the approbation and praise of the Public.

WHEN Lord Pigot, from the spirited opposition of the Majority, became at last desperate, broke through all concealment, and proceeded to the Despotic outrage of disgracefully suspending Mr. Stratton and another Member from the Council;—this was such a call for the exertion of public Spirit, as no man of honour could be deaf to; from the impulse of that public spirit he was excited into action, and felt it his duty to give up, for a time, his near prospects of Domestic happiness, to assist, at all hazards, in resuming the powers of Government, and protecting the settlement from threatening ruin.

CONSCIOUS, that the Public measures, which he adopted with the other Members of the Majority on this great occasion, were induced by principles of honour and duty, and directed solely to the true interests of the Company, and the general good of the Settlement, well might he entertain an honest and generous Confidence, that their procedure at this nice and important crisis would be examined by the Directors with justice and candour, and feel no pain, nor entertain any anxiety, respecting the Event.

SORRY am I to add, that if Justice and Candour had given Judgment in this great Public cause, so well grounded a confidence could not possibly have been disappointed.—The Patriot conduct of the Majority would not then have been exposed to so much illiberal and unjust censure, nor their injured characters have needed this unequal Defence, against the rude attacks of Malevolent detraction.

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I HAVE now, I think, refuted every material Charge which the Author of *The Defence* has brought against the Majority, and have opened so clear and distinct a View of all the Proceedings which led to the great Event of these Contentions, as must shew to every sober unprejudiced observer, the propriety and necessity of the conduct of the Gentlemen in the Majority, in suspending Lord Pigot, and taking upon themselves the Powers of the Government.—To pursue the Advocate farther, to attempt to detect and expose all his inventions and misrepresentations, and to refute all his sophistry, would be a more than Herculean task; and would besides defeat the purpose of this Undertaking, by swelling it into so enormous a size, as to leave it no more chance of being read, than the vast Appendixes to “*The Restoration Considered*.”

I SHOULD however be wanting in respect to the avowed Author of that Essay, and to the obligation of my promise, were I to dismiss these sheets, without a few cursory Observations on that Performance; with which I shall close my Undertaking, already carried to a greater length than one could well be aware of.

WHAT may perhaps first strike the over-nice Reader, and give him a Pedantic disgust to many passages in this Author, is the haughty disregard which he shews to the common Rules of Grammar, to which Vulgar writers make themselves such slaves. These Rules, it must be acknowledged, are sometimes not a little embarrassing, and occasion labour and difficulty in Literary composition;—and I should, for my own part, be content generously to allow this Gentleman (under the Article

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of *Privilege*) an absolute enlargement from the fetters of so troublesome an art, if such an exemption would not often be productive of perplexity, and render an Author's meaning too uncertain. It would be an invidious task to point out the passages which are liable to this objection: They are rather too frequent, and may be produced if called for. Yet I could wish, from the esteem I entertain for the Writer, that this was the only objection to his Book; which, notwithstanding all its professions of moderation and candour, and the learning and abilities it so frequently displays, has other demerits that I fear cannot be perfectly reconciled to those professions.

LET a man, in the general concerns and occurrences of life, be ever so respectable and good a character, he no sooner becomes a Party-writer, than he gives up, in a great measure, his natural disposition to candour and moderation; and in the heat of his attachment, he will sometimes go so far as to renounce his obligations to truth and justice:—And all this he may do, without being himself conscious of it. There is, in truth, nothing so blind, so perverse as Party zeal.

WE shall presently perceive, whether this observation may not in some small degree affect our Author.

THE Intention of his Pamphlet is, to consider the Restoration of the Rajah, and to defend it as a Measure adopted by the Directors from policy, justice, and respect to the public faith of Treaties; and which a regard to their own honour, and to the trust with which they were invested, compelled them to vindicate from
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the misrepresentations of the Nabob's Agents, whereon they founded their open solicitations for a Reversal of that Measure.

THIS must be acknowledged to be a bold and arduous attempt; enough, one would think, to baffle the singular abilities, the comprehensive knowledge, and subtle logic of a *Dunning*: It is therefore no disgrace to the talents of this Writer, that they should sink under the weight of so vast an undertaking.—It was necessary, in order to keep up a Shew of argument, to endeavour (like Lord Pigot's Advocate) to establish points which have no relation to the Question, and to gain upon the passions and prejudices of his Reader. To answer these purposes, the Ancestry of the Nabob is debased and vilified; his Father, An'war-adean, painted as an Usurper and an Assassin; and the Nabob himself, whose whole life has been employed, and whose Treasury has been exhausted in the service and protection of the Company, represented as the enemy of our Nation, aiming at Independency, in order to employ his power for the destruction of our Settlements, and to root out the English from his Territories.

BUT this is not all.—To furnish other foreign materials for his Undertaking, he has recourse to the most pitiful Expedients. He attempts to prove, that the Term RAJAH signifies KING;—That Mahomed Ally usurps the title of *Nabob*, and is in reality nothing more than the *Phous-dar*, or Military Governor of the Carnatic, under the Appointment of the Viceroy of the Deccan; and, that being inferior in rank to a King, who succeeds to his throne by Hereditary succession, he can consequently have no right to Tribute from the Rajah.

IN support of *All This*, our Author too rashly hazards a Reference to the Authority of Mr. Orme's History of our Military Transactions in India : To which I must also take the liberty to refer, for an absolute refutation of the Calumny with which this Gentleman, as well as the Author of *The Defence*, has dared to traduce the Fame of that unhappy Prince, the Nabob's father. The Historian, it will be found, so far from justifying our Author, has furnished the most irrefragable proofs of the innocence of An'war-adean, and shewn to a demonstration, that these foul and injurious charges were not only false, but wholly groundless. *—With the *same* success this unlucky Writer refers to the *same* Authority, for degrading the Nabob into a *Phous-dar*;—for the Historian has, in several passages of his book, shewn the undoubted right of Mahomed Ally, and of his Father, to the title of *Nabob*; and has distinguished them from the Moorish Governors or *Phous-dars*, who arrogated that title, and whom the Historian stigmatizes by the Name of *Pseudo Nabobs*. †

THE conduct of our Author in this respect appears to be not more ingenuous than wise. If he had *proved* these points, they could not in any degree have applied to his Argument; though, in order to establish them, he has referred to an authority which, when examined, makes directly against him.

* See Orme's History, p. 51, to 60.

† See page 51, where the Historian expressly records, That the Nizam appointed his General Cojah Abdullah, NABOB of Arcot, and of all its dependencies; declaring, that the Governor of the Carnatic was the only *Nabob* in all the Southern Provinces.

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WHAT Opinion then must any unprejudiced Person form of the weakness of that Cause, which seeks for support from such feeble props !—And yet our Author has laboured these last mentioned points, as much as if they were indispensable to the success of his Undertaking, and the very Basis of the rectitude and justice of the Restoration of the Rajah :—Nay, so firmly does he seem to rely on these circumstances, as never to suffer his Reader to lose sight of them ; inasmuch, that, to the best of my recollection, he never mentions the Rajah, thro' his whole performance, without dignifying him with the name of King ; or the Nabob, without degrading him into a *Phous-dar*.

NOR has he succeeded much better, when he quits these dark attacks, and ventures into the open field of Argument. Nothing worse could have befallen our Author, nor was it possible for him more fatally to commit himself, than by referring to Mr. Orme's Book, for a justification of the narrow and inapplicable Principles on which he defends the Restoration. From this Historian he might have learnt, " That the Government, Policy, " and Customs of the Nations of Indostan differ so greatly from " those of Europe," that it is altogether as impertinent and unfair, to apply our Principles on the Law of Nations, and to attempt to regulate the Conduct of the Indian states towards each other, by the Maxims of Puffendorf or Grotius, as it would be to judge of the Dramatic Merit of Shakespeare by the Rules of Aristotle. But I beg pardon.—Illustrations of this sort are better suited to the Taste and Reading of the Advocate, than to that of the Author of *The Restoration Considered* ; who, I believe, never neglects his more
weighty

weighty and important Studies, for the barren amusements of Poetry and Criticism.

OUR Author, who, like most other Authors, is sometimes a little inconsistent, admits That, though the Carnatic was neverbefore immediately submitted to one inferior Governor, “the successes of “the English Arms established Mahomed Ally, and finally exempted him by Treaty, as well as by Power, from all obedience to “the Empire.”—Now, by the same Treaty the Rajah is recognized as the Tributary of the Nabob, and the annual amount of his Tribute is therein specified. This Tribute then our Author acknowledges to be due to the Nabob in his own right, and not as Receiver for the Emperor. On the Mahomedan Conquest of India, the Moors, as they are called, suffered some of the Countries to remain under the Government of the Hindoo Princes or Rajahs; permitting them to follow their ancient Modes, on condition of paying Tribute :—The Nabobs of Arcot were frequently obliged to send Armies to facilitate the collection of the Tributes of Trichinopoly and Tanjore :—And there is no Aphorism in Grotius of more general assent in Europe than This in India, that “The conquered must pay the Expences of the War.”

THE Rajah with-holding his Tribute, the Nabob in his own name twice levied War against him to compel the payment of it; and, with the assistance of the Company's troops, as auxiliaries, at the second siege, took the Town by Storm. This is a plain tale, which puts down every argument that can possibly be advanced against the Capture of Tanjore.—And I have already, in the former part of this Tract, demonstrated, that the Orders of the

the Company for restoring the Rajah, were grounded on misrepresentation, were adopted on mistaken principles of policy, and ought, at least, to have been suspended, till the Event of the Nabob's Appeal to England should have been known.

THE *avowed* Principles of the Restoration are false and idle:—Nothing can be more so.—If the Directors had acted from Principles of Justice; if, “ from the first impressions of nature, “ written by the Deity in the Heart of man, they had restored “ the Rajah to his Dominions, and his Subjects to their Religion “ and their Laws;” their wisdom would never have been exposed to Public Arraignment. But the Act itself bears none of the genuine Marks of these Motives. If the Rajah had been restored on the ground of redressing injustice, he could have been restored on no other terms, than those of paying the arrears of his Tribute, and the expences of the War: Justice could demand no other. On what terms he *was* restored will soon be discovered; and, when known, they will leave the Motives of this Measure divested of all doubt, and cleared of all dispute.

To restore an innocent and oppressed people to the free exercise of their religion, and to the protection of their laws, is one of the noblest and most beneficent exertions of Power.—But nothing could equal the Misery of the People of Tanjore during the Government of the Rajah: No man was secure in his property; and his extortions were frequently enforced by tortures. Though the slave of superstition, he abandoned himself to riot, drunkenness, and every species of sensuality; and the most shocking violences were constantly employed to serve the lusts of this execrable wretch, and of the companions of his infamous debaucheries.

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The people every where fled from his oppressions, and the whole Country wore the face of desolation and ruin.—See the Reverse ! On the Capture of Tanjore, great numbers of the people, confiding in the justice and mild Government of the Conqueror, returned to their Farms : Cultivation soon revived ; the Mounds, Banks, and Water-Courses, which had for many years been left in a ruinous state, were all repaired ; towns and villages began to be built ; and industry, supported by Order, smiled through the Province.

WHAT then must have been the fatal fruits of this Restoration ? They are so obvious, that it is unnecessary to point them out ; and they are too shocking for description. Had the measure of the Capture of Tanjore been, in a Moral view, altogether unjustifiable, still, in the same view, it would have been infinitely more eligible to the unhappy Tanjoreans to have continued under the moderate Government of Mahomed Ally, than to have stood the shock of another Revolution, only to be again exposed to the oppressions of a superstitious, sensual, and cruel Tyrant.—In a Political view the measure is to the last degree absurd.—Whether Tanjore is part of the Carnatic or not, is a question that has been much agitated : To me however this seems to be a vague and idle dispute. But it is obvious to every one who is at all acquainted with our situation, and the interests of the Company on the Coast of Coromandel, that nothing can possibly be more impolitic, and more dangerous to the very existence of our Settlements, than to suffer a Power, like that of Tanjore, situated in the very heart of the Carnatic, to remain in any degree independent of the Nabob, our fast Ally. There is no secure Road by which an European Enemy can enter this Country but through

through Tanjore, where supplies of every kind can be furnished, either openly or covertly :—And we have had too frequent experience of the Natural disposition of the Moratto Governors of Tanjore to assist their Countrymen in all their hostile designs against the Carnatic.—Facts are stubborn things, and cannot be destroyed by all the subtle reasonings of Cobweb Sophistry. It is notorious, that Pertaub-Sing, the late Rajah, in violation of the Treaty of 1762, assisted the Rebel Isouf Cawn, with the French troops in his Service.—It is no less certain, that the present Rajah clandestinely supplied Hyder Ally with Elephants, Horses, Provisions, and Money ; and that his whole conduct, during the Mysorean war, marked him for the natural Enemy of the English, and of the Nabob. After the War, this acknowledged Tributary of the Nabob, depending on the assistance of Hyder Ally, made incursions into the Marawar Country, which is under the Government of the Vassal Zemindars of the Nabob, ravaged these districts, and carried away the rich plunder to Tanjore ; where he detained it for his own use, in defiance of the requisitions of the Nabob, and of the Governor and Council of Madras.

ON every subject relative to our Governments and Territorial possessions in India, we should be content to reason from Principles of Policy alone. The Principles of our Author, though they sound well, and are not ill calculated to serve his own purposes, are altogether untenable. If they were just, they would carry the Defenders of the Restoration much farther than they want to go : They would prove that We have no right, on any pretence, to interfere between any of the Powers in India, and would drive us from every inch of our Possessions in that quarter of the globe.

To conclude. The Period is now near at hand, when the Affairs of the East India Company, and the Conduct of their Delegates and Servants on the Coast of Coromandel, will become the subject of Parliamentary Inquiry. The Nabob of Arcot may from this time, therefore, wave all further unavailing altercation with his ungenerous Enemies, and their injurious Advocates, and safely rely on the honour and justice of the English Nation, to which, as an Ally of the British Crown, he has made his Appeal, for a full redress of all his injuries. To the result of that Inquiry, also, the Gentlemen who so laudably exerted their endeavours in support of that equitable System of Policy in the Carnatic, which had been, for near thirty years, maturing into Perfection, and preserved the Constitution against the ruinous and selfish views of a despotic Faction, may, with becoming confidence look forward, secure of that best reward to generous minds,—the Public approbation and applause of their Country.

THE END.

A P P E N D I X.

For the purpose of illustrating some of the important facts and transactions contained in the foregoing Sheets, it has been thought proper to subjoin the following Original Letters, Minutes of Council, Resolutions, &c. by Way of Appendix.

*From the NABOB to LORD PIGOT, dated the of Jan. 1776.**

YOUR letter, with the extract of the Company's orders, which they have given you on the subject of Tanjore, I have received, and am convinced that the Gentlemen of the Company, at the time of giving such orders, were totally unacquainted with the circumstances of affairs here, the just reasons for the taking of Tanjore, and my rights; and that they have heard groundless and contradictory reports, or they would never have given their servants such an order as this. I have apprehended that people in Europe have represented the taking of Tanjore as an injustice of mine, as though my son and I had committed an act of oppression upon Tuljaujee, &c. but as you are a well-wisher to the Company, and an old friend of mine, I desire of you as a particular favour, that you will oblige

* THIS is the letter referred to in *The Inquiry*, page 25, and which Lord Pigot suppressed for several days from the inspection of the Board.

me by examining thoroughly the groundless reports you have heard in Europe; and as the gentlemen of the Company have not received proper and clear accounts of this matter, it is therefore necessary that I write somewhat of the circumstances that relate to it for their information.

THE misconduct of Tuljaujee, the connexions I found he was forming with the French, the Dutch, the Danes, Hyder Aly Cawn, and others; his selling and mortgaging certain dependencies of Tanjore to other European nations; his soliciting from them succours of troops and military stores; his employing great sums of money, and a Vackeel, to call in a Maratta force to disturb and lay waste the Carnatic; his stirring up other neighbouring powers to a war; his supplying Hyder Aly Cawn with money, grain, &c. when he entered with a design of ruining the Carnatic; his invading the countries of Marawar and Nalcottah, both tributary to me, notwithstanding mine and the Governor and Council's remonstrances; his taking from them money, jewels, elephants, horses, cannon, &c. and his with-holding the tribute from me, which the Company themselves took notice of in their orders from Europe: All these points, out of the regard to the tranquility of the Carnatic, I found it necessary to represent at large to former Governors.

EVER since my first connection with the Company, my affairs have been carried on by the mediation of the Governor and Council, and still continue in the same channel; nor have I ever considered the Company and the Governor and Council as distinct from each other. Accordingly that same Mr. Dupré, who, in the year 1762, went to conclude a peace with and settle the business of Tanjore; who went afterwards to Europe and became a Director, and who was afterwards appointed to the government of Madras; who was well acquainted with the inclinations and sentiments of the Gentlemen of the Company, and of whom indeed they themselves wrote me, in theirs of the 17th of March, 1769, that they had a full dependence upon his judgment, and whose measures they approved after he went to Europe; he, in the year 1771, having conceived that

that the conduct of Tuljaujee was contrary to the peace of 1762, injurious to the interests and honour of the Company and me, and prejudicial to the peace and tranquility of the Carnatic and the Company's Jaghire, as well as to their trade, did, with the advice of the present Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, who was then second in Council at Madras, and all the rest of the Board, together with that of his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, order the Company's forces away with mine, in order to take the fort and country of Tanjore, and deliver it to me; he also wrote me of an order the Company had given to assist me, in a letter dated the 25th of September, 1771; and of all these papers the Company have had copies. As, however, Tuljaujee returned for that time to his former obedience to me, and agreed to pay his peshcush, and refrain from such conduct as he had before been guilty of, to which purport he gave me an engagement under his seal, I thought it proper to recal the forces, notwithstanding that I might then have taken his fort, and that this was the desire of the Governor and Council. But Tuljaujee, so far from adhering any time to his obedience or engagements, began again to discover his former mode of proceeding; to wit: As soon as ever my forces, and those of the Company, were withdrawn to Trichinopoly, (the peace having been concluded on the 17th of) he, by a large sum of money, called into his assistance a body of 20,000 horse from the army of Trimbec Row, who was then with 40,000 in the country of Hyder Aly Cawn; and accordingly Trimbec Row with that force crossed the passes, and plundered my districts as far as Calaspaw; him, however, by means of a considerable sum, I prevailed upon to leave my country. The Rajah also requested succour of the Dutch, who promised to assist him, as the Governor-General's letter of Batavia to me, 26th of July, 1771, on that subject, testifies; so that I represented his bad conduct to Governor Wynch in mine of the 18th of June, 1773. Accordingly he, General Smith, and the rest of the Council, considered the taking of the place as a measure of the utmost importance, and absolutely necessary, and of course sent the Company's troops with mine a second time. By the favour of Heaven the fort and country fell into my hands, and Tuljaujee

jaujee continues to live in his own house, as he always did, and has the utmost attention and respect paid to him; his family too are all in the same places they formerly inhabited, nor has there the smallest variation taken place in the manner of living of either him or his family.

THERE was also another motive for the seizure of that place; I mean the prevention of all internal disturbances in the Carnatic, agreeable to the desire of the Gentlemen of the Company, expressed in their Letter of the 4th of March 1767, which by this measure has been effected; otherwise what troubles and disasters might there not have arisen by this time? for the Tanjore country is so situated in the midst of this, that no injury can reach it until the greatest ravages shall have been committed in the Carnatic.

It is now five years since Governor Dupré gave orders for the taking of Tanjore, and sent the Company's troops on that service; and it is the third year since it actually fell: this the Gentlemen of the Company have been acquainted with, and have been silent. Now considering the immense expences I have in this time incurred, by redeeming the districts Tuljaujee had sold for an immense sum to other European nations, at the price they required; in discharging his other debts, and paying large arrears to his troops: in defraying the expences of my own and Company's forces, and in giving a considerable sum to the Maratta, to prevent his invading the country; also the great debts I have contracted from the English gentlemen, who have assisted me with money for the expedition, and the immense sums I have taken up of the country people to put the country in a flourishing condition, to repair the water-courses and banks, and for the rebuilding the fortifications of Tanjore, under the inspection of Major Stephens, the Company's Engineer. I have distributed to a considerable amount amongst the husbandmen, to enable them to buy oxen for the plough, and paddy-seed to sow, and have taken up paddy-seed in my own name of the inhabitants, and distributed it gratis, so that the cultivation exceeds much what it was in Tuljaujee's time. Considering too, that
merely

merely on the strength of the revenues of Tanjore, I have taken upon me the expence of the three battalions of Seapoys, and paid their arrears, amounting to two Lacks and sixty odd thousand Pagodas, which I was formerly unable to do; that, as a reward for the services of the troops, I issued so bountiful a largess, and have had so many other expences to defray in both expeditions for military stores, and for the support of the Zemindars and Cooleries, who accompanied the army with such numerous bodies of men, all which would make too long a catalogue to give a detail of here: I say, after all this, I am astonished and amazed, that at the end of five years, the Gentlemen of the Company should give my friend such an order as this.

THE concern I am under since the perusal of these orders is such as I am unable to express in writing; for in case they are put in execution as they direct, it is not my right alone that will suffer injury, but my honour, as well as that of my family, and my affairs in general, will be hurt; and moreover the honour, justice, and interests of the Company, as well as the tranquility of the Carnatic, will be injured by it.

THE King of Great-Britain wrote me congratulation on the success of my troops and those of the Company; and his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary read that letter in my full Durbar before all present, and the Vakeels of the neighbouring powers; and the King of Delhy, together with all the Indian and European Chiefs, with a view to my right, wrote me congratulations.

CAN I imagine that the Gentlemen of the Company, after approving of, should again disapprove of the measure; and what will people say of this event?—The money that people have lent me, in dependence on my honour, for this very business, and which I was under the necessity of borrowing to carry it on, the payment of that lies upon me, and my reimbursement is from the country of Tanjore. The Gentlemen of the Company have been also pressing with me about my creditors.

You

You and your Council, who are well acquainted with the whole state of the affair, will I hope seriously consider what I have said. The Company in their orders to you say, that they were Guarantees for the Rajah in the treaty of 1762. This guarantee could only extend to Rajah Pertaub Sing; and he even forfeited his right to it by the hostile designs he since shewed, which can be proved by his letters. I have formerly often communicated them to you, and particularly to Mr. Palk, in a letter dated 30th October 1764.

By the customs of the country, Rajah Tuljaujee cannot be considered as included in the treaty of 1762. You will please to consider his evil and refractory conduct, and his mortgaging and selling districts to Europeans, contrary to your interests and mine, and then judge whether taking his capital from him was acting contrary to justice or not, granting that a guarantee extended to him as it did to his father. You will please to consider, whether he forfeited his right to the protection of the treaty or not, when he broke through it himself.

THE Company, in their letter, dated 17th March 1769, to Governor Dupré and his Council, say, " We think it highly unjust, that the Rajah
 " of Tanjore should possess a country so flourishing as his is, and capable
 " of bearing some part of the expences of our troops, without paying any
 " thing towards its defence, and that of the Carnatic. We observe that
 " the Nabob has mentioned this to you in one of his letters entered in the
 " country correspondence; and he says in the same letter, that the Ze-
 " mindars of the Carnatic and its dependencies, are protected by the
 " troops kept by him. It is well known, that three of the last Subahs of
 " the Carnatic received from the Rajah of Tanjore seventy or eighty Lacks,
 " and even a Crore of Rupees; that the Rajah sometimes paid fifty lacks
 " to former Nabobs; and at the time the present Nizam was defeated by
 " our army, he would not have been satisfied under a Crore of Rupees
 " from the Rajah, had he gone into his country. We therefore think it
 " highly proper, that he should be made to defray part of the expences
 " incurred

“incurred in defence of his country; and we order you to give such necessary assistance to the Nabob, as he may call for against the Rajah of Tanjore; and, if the Rajah then refuses to pay his share of the expenses, you may then follow any just means to obtain it from him.”

My dear Sir! I have been long the Company's friend; you and I have been intimate for many years, and I entertain the greatest hopes of welfare to my affairs from your disposition towards me. Although my treaty with the Governor and Council does not admit a Company's garrison being placed in Tanjore, yet since the Company, who are my best friends, have it so much at heart to fix a garrison there, I shall cheerfully comply with their request, on the same footing as they hold Trichinopoly, that I am to pay the troops garrisoned there, and afford them every assistance in my power; I shall also increase the allowance of the Rajah and his family.

I HAVE put my life and honour, and those of my children and relations, under the protection of the Company, and put my whole trust upon them, have fixed my residence at Madras: what great matter is it then for me to deliver up to them a fort of brick and stone? But to give back the fort and country to Tuljaujee, which can bring nothing but disgrace upon me; what answer can I possibly give on the subject? The Company and I have received mutual advantages from each other; by their assistance I have acquired the power which was my right, and I shall not put faith enough in idle reports, to believe they ever mean to dispossess me of that right. I understand from you, that if I refuse acknowledging the Company's orders, which you brought, relative to Tanjore, it will cause detriment to my affairs, and the Company will be displeased with me. Whenever the Company choose to place a garrison in the Fort of Tanjore, it is in their power; but I have only to beg, from their friendly disposition towards me, that they will consider my right, and act as justice shall direct them. In what manner then can they be displeased with me?

My dear friend !—I have been long a friend of the Company's ; my father's life was sacrificed for them, and my riches have been expended in their service ; I now beg, from their friendship, that they will have pity upon an old man's grey hairs.

As the Company have trusted to your wisdom and experience the affair of Tanjore, you have the power to explain to them the bad conduct and evil intentions of Tuljaujee, and the right I had to take his country ; that I have consented to have a Company's garrison placed there, as at Trichinopoly and other places ; and that I shall allow the Rajah and his family a suitable allowance ; and I shall give him to understand before your garrison is sent there, that he must depend upon my favour for his releasement or otherwise, if not in my power.

I owe large arrears to my army, and drafts have been issued on the Tanjore revenues, for discharging large debts contracted on that service : I hope, from your friendly disposition to me, that you will send orders to your officers not to interfere in any manner, or interrupt my affairs in the Tanjore country, till an answer is received from England on the subject. By sending such orders, you will lay an obligation upon me, and I will admit an English garrison in Tanjore.

What more ?

From the NABOB to LORD PIGOT, dated the 25th of March, 1776.

I HAVE received your favour of the 22d instant, and been made acquainted with its contents. You say, that the business of Tanjore had been well deliberated by your masters, and that their orders were not delivered to you till they had been laid before his Majesty's Ministers for their approval. In my letter to you of the 22d of January last, I gave
you

you a very circumstantial account of the bad conduct of Tuljaujee, of his connexion with Hyder Ally Cawn and the Marattas, and his selling districts to the Dutch and other nations, with a view of supporting his independence by their assistance; all which were detrimental to my honour and the peace of the Carnatic. How then could the Directors give you such orders? If, after being fully informed of all these particulars, they had made this demand from their old friend and ally, I should have been convinced, that it was the result of a mature deliberation and a knowledge of facts; but this had not been the case. If the Company are not made acquainted by their agents abroad of the transactions that happen here, how is it in their power to lay an account of them before his Majesty's Ministers for their approbation?

You say, that you are determined to execute the orders your masters have intrusted you with relative to Tanjore. I have already wrote to them on this subject, and rely upon their equity and justice for the determination of it. What I have to request of you is, that you will not interfere, or act in a manner which may be detrimental to my affairs in the Tanjore country, till an answer is received from Europe.—The revenues of that country have been made over to those persons who lent me money on account of the expedition against that place.

You entreat of me to call to my remembrance the difficulties I was able to encounter when my friends' power was united to my own; you desire me to remember, that union was in the cause of justice, and that in that cause only they can be united; and you beg of me to reflect what consequences may attend even the appearance of a disunion. I do remember, that my father assisted the Company in times of difficulty, that my friendship for them and the English Nation has never altered, and that I have shared with them both good and bad fortune. The remembrance of these things ever gives me pleasure. The Company, it is true, have ever considered my alliance and friendship for them, and have favored me with their assistance. I and my children shall never, as long as we

are established in this country, forget our obligations to them; and we shall on our part give them all the assistance in our power. The friendship shewn me by the Company and the English Nation totally overcomes me; my heart is full of the sense of the obligations I am under to them, and the reliance on their future favours. What ideas can I then form of the bad consequences which may attend the appearance of a disunion between us? Ever since the beginning of my alliance with the Company, the fame of our mutual friendship has been so universally established, that nothing can destroy it.

You say, "Your masters gave me their support when I was alike destitute of money and of power; that they will continue their support to me, but that the public faith has been pledged to the Rajah as well as to me; and that your orders are, that the country of Tanjore shall be again put into the possession of the Rajah." It is very certain, the Company did grant me their assistance at a time I had expended all my treasures and power in their support. I and my children acknowledge our obligations to them for it, and still hope for the continuance of their friendship, which they have solemnly promised in their letters to me. I depend likewise on the assurances of support made to me by the King of Great Britain under his hand, wherein he informs me, that I am one of those included in a treaty amongst other crowned heads. This has also been confirmed to me by his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, who had orders from him to do so. In my letter of the 22d of January last I told you, that Purtaub Sing had forfeited his right to the guarantee, and that his son Tuljaujee never could plead a right to that treaty. As to that part of yours where you mention your orders to put him in possession of the Tanjore country, it has been fully answered in the first paragraph of this letter.

You say, "That if all the arguments you have been able to suggest have not had their proper force, that you know not what words to make use of to induce me to make this my own act; and you add, with what aching heart shall you be obliged, after acting with me through so many difficulties,

difficulties, to carry the Company's orders into execution by their authority *alone*." I am really at a loss to answer this, after having laid before you, as I have done, the disgrace and loss which must be the consequence of my complying with your request, and intreated you in the name of the King and Parliament of Great Britain, the English Nation, and the Company, to wait till an answer is received from Europe before you put your orders into execution. I knew not how I am to make you sensible of the sorrows that afflict my heart.

You conclude by saying, "The world will justify you in the obedience you shew to the commands of your masters; and that, having never failed in the part of friendship, respect, or propriety of behaviour towards me, you trust you shall now stand excused, after the pressing manner you have so often urged me to do that which is right and proper, as well respecting my interests as my dignity."

WHEN I consider the justice and upright disposition of the English Nation, I am led to hope, that as long as you, my friend, do not act in any way contrary to justice, or attack the rights of an old friend of the Company, and do not distress an ally of the King of Great Britain; but, on the contrary, shall preserve my right and honour, which may be considered as those of your King and Nation; I say I am led to hope your conduct will stand excused before them.

SINCE the assurances the King of Great Britain and the Company have made to support and defend me, are well known to all the Princes of Hindostan, your preserving their good fame in this respect will be the source of new honour and dignity to you; I hope therefore you will be so kind as ever to consider me in the same light of a friend to the Company.

What can I say more?

Trans-

*TRANSLATION of a Letter from his Highness the NABOB to Lord PIGOT, dated
19th Zermadilowall 1190 Hegira, or 6th July 1776.*

IN my letter, dated 3d Rabifany 1190 Hegira, or 26th May, to your Lordship, I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 13th May, and said I would answer it fully in a little time. I now propose to do myself that pleasure. You write me, that on reading over the proceedings of Mr. Stratton, and the other Gentlemen of the Council, you find two letters from me, addressed to Mr. Stratton, which you would do yourself the honour of answering. Your Lordship says, that my mind being full of trouble and uneasiness, does not surprise you : That bad counsellors have often distracted a mind as great as mine. Your writing to me that my mind is full of trouble and uneasiness is very just ; but your mentioning bad counsellors very much surprises me. When any business is going forward, which is contrary to the interest and honour of the Company and me ; and I give no opposition to the Company ; and only explain my rights, and the sufferings of my heart, it is no fault of mine, if you form suspicions of my having bad counsellors.

EVER since your Lordship's arrival I have pursued but one road, which is this : that I have submitted to every thing, and have only explained my rights and situation, in hopes of receiving justice from the Company and the English nation. When this is my road, it much surprises me, that you should say that I have bad counsellors.

YOUR Lordship says, that my son Ameer-ul-Omrah perhaps forgot to inform me, that Naroo Pundit the Dobbeer, after Tanjore was taken, told him he would not desert his Master in his misfortunes, and refused to act until he carried him to the Rajah, and desired him to lay his commands upon him ; and your Lordship asks me, Was it noble, was it generous,

was

was it honourable, was it just, to imprison this venerable old man, between 70 and 80 years of age, this public officer, this just officer of the Tanjore revenues, this officer of the Public, and not my servant?

TULJAUJEE, during his government, dismissed all his father's old servants from their employments, and put them in prison; and when Tanjore was taken, the Dobbeer was in prison; and Tuljaujee, during his power, dispossessed him of every thing he had: He was released from Prison by my son Ameer-ul-Omrah; Behauder, by my order and he engaged, of his own accord, in my service, and entered into a solemn engagement in writing (as will appear by several letters of his in my possession,) in consequence of which I then entrusted him with the management of the country. In the governments of Purtaub Sing and Tuljaujee, he was only Secretary, which you may be convinced of from the word Dobbeer, which signifies Secretary. It much surprises me (after the good treatment that I publicly gave the Dobbeer) that your Lordship should say that I imprisoned him. It was You that made him prisoner, and carried him as such by force from Arrialore, which is in my Country. Was this noble, was this generous, was this honourable, was this just?

In the business of Tanjore, your Lordship has not confined yourself to the Company's Order; but, in your great displeasure, you pursued measures that infinitely disgraced me, and overturned all management and order in my country; and all the people far and near withdrew their dependence from me.

YOUR Lordship says, that you learned from this man (meaning the Dobbeer), that I had received from the Tanjore country, in the three years that I had it in my possession, forty lacks of pagodas, which would be a great satisfaction to your employers, as they will be confident that the expences I have been at could not have amounted to near that sum.

THAT

THAT I have received a sum to the amount of forty lacks of pagodas can appear only from what your Lordship says the Dobbeer told you; and that my expences have not amounted to that sum, is only your Lordship's opinion. Is the report your Lordship says you bring from the Dobbeer sufficient authority for this matter? Tuljaujee, when he was in my power, told me many things which I now think unnecessary to mention. Suppose even that what the Dobbeer told you, in presence of Tuljaujee (thinking it would give pleasure to both) was true; it has not amounted to the half of my expence: For the expence of the two expeditions against Tanjore only, and the prize-money on each of them, paying the debts which Tuljaujee owed to the Dutch, &c. raising for each expedition a great number of troops and colleries, the large sums I was obliged to pay to the Marattas, &c. and the expences I was at in sending large quantities of grain, great numbers of bullocks and sheep, the sums I paid to bullock-keepers, and other expences, would amount to a sum infinitely beyond what your Lordship says. All this has subjected me to the severest loss: and I am sure (from the justice and integrity of your employers) that, instead of satisfaction, they will receive pain from these representations, they will not permit that I should be at such a loss, nor will they pay any attention to accounts which you may produce from writers and papers which you seized by force, and which were of course entirely at your disposal. The English are a just people; when they want to find out truth or falsehood, either in affairs or accounts, they do not use imprisonment and the terrors of arms for that purpose.

YOUR Lordship says, you learned also from the Dobbeer, that the revenues of Tanjore, for this year, amounted to twelve lacks of pagodas; that there remained only three lacks to be collected by the Rajah, and that my receipts, orders, and the usual Charge, amounted to full nine; that this was a great satisfaction to your Lordship, as you trusted it would enable me to pay the arrears due to my troops.

THE

THE efforts of my son Ameer-ul-Omrah, during the last season, in repairing the mound and the water-courses, in advancing large sums of money, and great quantities of seed-grain, were of such advantage to the inhabitants, and the culture of the country, that such an appearance of a harvest was never known; and the Dobbeer informed me, that the harvest of the present year would be exceedingly great, and, in consequence, I expected that the revenues of the present year would have much exceeded the past, and I had assigned them all, by Tunkas, to my creditors and my troops. Your Lordship says that, according to the representation of the Dobbeer, the revenues amounted only to twelve lacks of pagodas, and that nine lacks were expended by me, and that only three lacks remained to be collected by Tuljaujee. This much surprises me; however, let the revenues of the present year be what they will, they have not been paid either to my creditors or seapoys, nor have they come into my treasury. You *may know* how this money has been disposed of. The Dobbeer was pleased to say, that only three lacks remained to be collected: Had he said that there was not a single grain to be collected in that country, who can stop his mouth? Suppose even that the revenues of the present year had been what your Lordship mentions, there have not been above three lacks of pagodas brought to my account: The balance must remain in the country.

YOUR Lordship says, the good purposes the measure has answered will, you hope, appear to me a sufficient reason for escorting the Dobbeer to Tanjore; and shall the gates of Arrialore, or any other gates in the Payen Ghaut, be shut against the troops of the Company, who have fought for me near thirty years, when they ask admittance by your authority? You hope not: That this would be an improper return to the man who put me in possession of them, upon my solemn assurances that there was no distinction between the Company and me, and that I wished it only for the appearance it would have with the Country Powers.

ALL the forts and countries in my possession, are entirely open to my friends, and dedicated to their pleasure and happiness. But, according to the law of nations, there cannot be a greater disgrace, or a greater violation of friendship, than that your troops should, by your order, forcibly enter my country, and carry away as prisoners the servants of the firmest friend of the Company, who has been always strictly allied with them, and to whom the Company have solemnly promised to secure his honour and government, and to whom his Majesty, my protector (who has been graciously pleased to include me in the Treaty of Paris,) has given his assurance by his royal letters, that he should be safe from every oppression and disturbance, which promise has been confirmed by the whole nation. These things were contrary to the friendship, honour, and faith of the Company (who are my friends, and the protectors of my honour and authority, my rights and government) and contrary to the guarantee of the English nation, and to the alliance of his Majesty the King of Great Britain. My rights and authority are not only destroyed, and the peace and tranquillity of my country, but the honour of the whole English nation suffers. What your Lordship says of the Company fighting for me near thirty years is true, and my children have been, and their posterity ever will be, under obligations to them for it. As for my part, I declare most solemnly, and upon my honour, that it is impossible for the whole world, either by promises or threats, to turn me from my friendship for the Company and the whole English nation; but, according to the justice of every sect, and every nation, it is not right to oppress me under the name of friendship, or of obligations conferred. I am convinced, that the Company will never consent to my being oppressed. My writing that there is no difference between me and the Company, is no reason for their taking possession of my country and fortune, and that they should oppress me. The Gentlemen of the Company are my best friends, and men of justice, and I expect justice from them and the English.

Your Lordship says, that my letter of the 27th is a matter of the utmost astonishment to you; that is the public notice given, when the country of
 Tanjore.

Tanjore was restored to the Rajah, it was expressly said, what he possessed at the conclusion of the treaty I made with him in 1762, no other was meant to be given to him, and the Rajah never wished to have more than the Company thought his right.

WHEN Tuljaujee has such a person as your Lordship to manage his business, it is needless for him to express his wishes, when your Lordship pays no attention to any of my rights, and thinks the word of Tuljaujee a sufficient foundation for taking possession of my country. I make no opposition to what you do in the name of the Company, as I expect justice from the gentlemen in England.

YOUR Lordship says, that Nagif Cawn received every mark of respect when he left Tanjore, and you assure me that every officer and servant you have seen of mine have merited, and have received all the civility you could possibly pay to them.

It is true that Nagif Cawn wrote me, that he was much obliged to you on this subject, as did others of my servants who had seen your Lordship on the road. But you did not perform your engagement to me, when you promised to continue Nagif Cawn in the fort with a thousand seapoys; and after you gave your orders that Tuljaujee should take possession of the country, his people, with the assistance of yours, behaved in such a manner towards some of my dignified servants (part of whom have served my family for two or three generations with honesty and integrity), that they omitted nothing which could dishonour or disgrace them, and some of my people are yet kept in prison by those of Tuljaujee and the Company, and are supported by them in prison.

FROM the beginning of my friendship with the Company to this time I have never expected such disgrace; and by the favour of the King of Great Britain, the Company, and the English nation, I am assured of a daily increase to my honour; but in this place I am treated in another manner. I

look towards the justice of the English nation, whose character is famed all over the world.

YOUR Lordship says, you could say more in reply to my letter, but that you'll conclude with giving me your strongest assurances of your steady attachment to my interests, and of the wish you have, that I would put it in your power to render me any service you are capable of.

Let your Lordship write long letters or short ones, my answer is this: That my resolution is fixed and unalterable to continue in the friendship of the Company, to whom my heart is attached, and I shall be under the highest obligations to them as long as my posterity remains; and though I have been overwhelmed with disgrace, yet I made no opposition whatsoever to the Company in the Tanjore business, nor did I impede their order, and therefore I expect justice from their friendship. This letter and my others, and all my behaviour and actions (if you will judge impartially), you will find full of the strongest friendship and gratitude to the Company.

I conclude this letter, by assuring your Lordship, that when you are really disposed to shew an attachment to my interest, which is the same with that of the Company, and to render me any service, it will be the greatest happiness to me to see that attachment.

From

*From Mr. PAUL BENFIELD to the Governor, Council, &c. dated July 12,
1776.**

My Lord and Gentlemen,

IN answer to the letter I have received from your Secretary of the 10th instant, I take leave to address you the following :

By the Circar are kept in the Tanjore provinces, first, the Sumperdee accounts in Malabar on Cadjan ; those are taken by Sumperdee officers residing in the villages or mangans ; those accounts are duplicates or counterparts of the Naut Canuck, or the accounts of the public officers of the villages and mangans ; the Sumperdee officers of the villages and mangans transmit their accounts to their superior Sumperdees, residing at the Cutcheries of the Amuldars and Aumeens in the different Subahs, who transmit their statements to the Head Sumperdee at the General Cutcherry at Combaconum. Secondly, the Moojundar accounts in Maratta, on paper : These are taken by Moojundar officers residing at the Cutcherry of the Amuldars and Aumeens in the different Subahs from the Sumperdee accounts there ; those accounts are transmitted, in the same manner as the Sumperdee accounts, to the Head Moojundar at the General Cutcherry at Combaconum. Thirdly, the Duffer accounts at the General Cutcherry at Combaconum, in Persian and Maratta. Those are the general statements of receipts, disbursements, and all transactions for the whole province, under the chief manager of the country.

* This and the following Letter from Mr. De Souza make a part of this Appendix, for the purpose of shewing that the Village Accounts were left in the respective Villages in the Tanjore Country, notwithstanding Lord Pigot had repeatedly declared at the Board, that they were carried away by the express Orders of the Nabob ; which was his avowed pretence for entering the Territories of his Highness, and bringing away his Dobbeer by force from Arialoor.

ON

ON the part of the people are kept by public officers, appointed by the inhabitants in every village and mangan, the accounts called Naut Canuck, in Malabar on Cadjan; those are originals of the Sumperdee accounts. They further contain the accounts of the privileges, &c. of every individual inhabitant, and all transactions in the villages and mangans. The Naut Canuck are always considered as the records of the country, and are preserved as such; they are referred to both by the Circar and the people of the country, when either hath occasion.

WHEN the Dobbeer moved a short time before the Rajah was restored, he took with him the accounts belonging to his Cutcherry; the Aumens of the different Subahs moved part of the accounts of their respective Cutcheries; the Sumperdee officers continued with their accounts at the villages and mangans, and the Naut Canuck remain undisturbed in their places as usual.

THIS information I am able to give your Lordship, &c. from my own knowledge, and from my people who resided in every part of the country, as I had revenues to collect throughout the province. I am with respect, &c.

From Mr. ANTONIO DE SOUZA to the Governor, Council, &c. dated July 12, 1776.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

ON the 7th of April last, I arrived at Sheally, in Tanjore country, a Subah mortgaged to me by his Highness the Nabob Valajah, for money he borrowed of me.

THE 8th of the same month I desired the Subadar of Sheally, by name Veneapayen, to get all my accounts settled. He told me that all the Maratta

satta and Persian accounts were carried to Warrior Pollam and Alianoor, where Dobbeer, the manager of his Highness, was. On this I asked him for the Malabar accounts of that Cutcherry. He told me he had them; but being doubtful of his Malabar account, I ordered him to call the Natawar of the Sheally Subah, and desired them to bring their account, which is always kept by Nae Canam (7249) their public Clerk; which accounts in Malabar of each district and village of that Subah they brought to me; and from the 8th till the 10th of the same month, being present Natawars, Nae Canam, Subadar, and officers of the Cutcherry, I did examine my accounts with theirs, and found very right and exact till that time.

On the 11th I went to Pondanelore, Jerpandal, and Sholvaram, districts of the Subah of Combaconum.

THE 12th and 13th, at all these places I found the accounts of the Natawars of those places in the same regular manner kept. I did examine their accounts with those kept by my agents in those districts of Combaconum, being also mortgaged to me.

On the 14th I went to Combaconum, and on the 15th I sent my agents to the great Cutcherry of Combaconum, to settle finally the said accounts with Vincatarey, the Subadar there, who at that time acted for the Rajah, and had before then acted for the Nabob; he promised me to go, and I returned back to Sheally on the 16th, and got all my accounts finally settled there, and adjusted with those Malabar accounts of that Cutcherry, and of the Natawars as aforesaid, and an abstract of the whole I gave to Verapule then new Subadar for the Rajah.

I RETURNED again to Combaconum, in order to get those accounts of the aforesaid three districts settled; but the Subadar there did put me off from the 18th to the 22d of April. Not being able to lose more time, I contented myself with what I had done, having before examined and settled:

settled those very accounts with those of the Natawars; which accounts in the Tanjore country are held as public accounts kept in archive for all times, and are indisputable, which I found very regularly kept at those places.

THIS is all I can inform regarding the accounts of the Tanjore country, few days before, at, and after the restoration of the Rajah.

THIS address I make to you in consequence of the letter I received the 10th instant from the Secretary Mr. Sullivan, by your order. I am with respect, &c.

The DECLARATIONS of Kistnaje Pundit and Soobarow, relating to Comaroo's visit to the Rajah, sworn before the Mayor of Madras, Aug. 31, 1776.

ON the 8th of April last, Lord Pigot arrived at Tanjore, and visited the Rajah that night after 8 o'clock; and after Lord Pigot came away from the Rajah, Comaroo sent in his respects to the Rajah, who that moment sent out orders for Comaroo to come to him. We accompanied him the whole time he was with the Rajah; three of the Rajah's servants came before to conduct us to the Rajah, who was standing in the Ramaswamy Mahal; some of his people and Col. Harper's Dubash were there; the Rajah was overjoyed to see Comaroo, he accepted his Nazir, enquired after him, said, what can be compared to the favour the English Nation hath done? Such words of compliment passed between them, but not a word upon any business; Then we took leave and came away; this is all that passed.

On

On the 31st of August (pursuant to a Resolution of Council, of the 14th of June, near six weeks before the Suspension of Lord Pigot) Comaroo, with Kistnaje Pundit, Soobarow, and all such persons as were present during the conversation between Comaroo and the Rajah, were ordered to attend the Board, when Comaroo presented a Representation, in writing, and with the two witnesses was examined by the Governor and Council, as follows:

QUESTIONS to COMAROO.

QUESTION 1. Did you force your way into the Rajah's house, on the 8th of April, at eleven o'clock at night?

Answer. No.

Question 2. Did you propose to the Rajah to rent his whole country, telling him that you was supported by seven members of the Council?

Answer. No, I did not.

Question 3. Did you tell the Rajah that Lord Pigot would recommend to him to admit an English garrison into his fort? and did you at the same time endeavour to dissuade him from admitting the garrison?

Answer. No.

Question 4. Did you tell the Rajah, that Lord Pigot would probably advise him to depend on the Company for the protection of his country, which he was by no means to comply with, but on the contrary to reply, that he would defend his country in the same manner as his father, and that he did not want such assistance?

Answer. No.

Question 5. Did Lord Pigot charge you with having said the above to the Rajah when you were at Tanjore?

Answer. No.

E c

Question

Question 6. Proposed by Sir Robert Fletcher. Had you ever any conversation with any member of the Council, previous to your going to Tanjore, touching the subject matter of the second Question, to which you have already answered?

Answer. No, I never had.

Question 7. Proposed by the President. Can you recollect what passed between you and the Rajah, when you were at Tanjore, in the several conversations you had with him?

Answer. I have set forth every thing that passed between the Rajah and me in my representation. *

Question 8. Did Lord Pigot give you no kind of reason for ordering you to be publicly punished at Tanjore?

Answer. No other reason whatsoever than that I waited on the Rajah without his permission.

Question 9. Did you see and converse with the Rajah only once during the time you were at Tanjore?

Answer. Only once.

MINUTED.

COMAROO then relates as followeth: Lord Pigot had not seen the Rajah before I was sent for on the 9th of April in the morning; the representation against me therefore must have come from Moodoo Kistnah, his lordship's Dubash; for the Rajah I know for a certainty had no Vackeels of his own, nor indeed do I believe Vackeels were employed, but if they were, they must have been the Vackeels of Moodoo Kistnah. Moodoo Kistnah, it is well known, is a professed enemy of mine; by him therefore his lordship must have been influenced to load me with that ignominy and disgrace, for which nothing in the world can be an adequate compensation. My character from my childhood is intimately known to many of you gentlemen now present, as well as to others in this Settlement; and I

* For the purport of this Representation—See *The Inquiry*, from p. 93 to 101.

am well convinced you will do me the justice to believe I have ever conducted myself with the strictest propriety, both with respect to the Honourable Company's Government, and to every gentleman in their service. The injuries I have sustained have been so grievous, that I could not but apply to this Honourable Board for redress; you well know, gentlemen, how peculiarly disgraceful it must be to a man of my religion and circumstances to be publickly flogged; the stain it leaves remains not only on me, but my family likewise partake of it, and thereby become unjustly involved in what is the severest punishment that can be inflicted on men in this country guilty of the most atrocious crimes.

Questions to Kistnaje Pundit and Soucar.

Question 1. Were you with Comaroo when he visited the Rajah of Tanjore in April last?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question 2. At what hour of the night was it?

Answer. About nine o'clock at night.

Question 3. Did Comaroo force his way into the Rajah of Tanjore's house the night he visited him?

Answer. No, he did not force his way into the Rajah's house.

Question 4. Did Comaroo propose to the Rajah, in your hearing, to rent his whole country, telling him that he was supported by seven members of the Council.

Answer. No, he did not.

Question 3. (As to Comaroo?)

Answer. No, Comaroo did not speak upon the subject.

Question 4. (As to Comaroo?)

Answer. No such words ever came from Comaroo.

Question 5. Were you near enough to hear distinctly all that passed between the Rajah and Comaroo?

Answer. I was close to both the Rajah and Comaroo, and therefore could hear distinctly every thing that passed.—

Soobarow Amuldar called before the Board.

QUESTION 1. The questions put to him the same as to Kistnajee Pundit?

Answer. I was with Comaroo when he visited the Rajah in April last.

Question 2.

Answer. After eight o'clock.

Question 3.

Answer. No, he did not force his way into the Rajah's house.

Question 4.

Answer. No, he did not.

Question 3. (As to Comaroo?)

Answer. Not a word passed upon that subject.

Question 4. (As to Comaroo?)

Answer. Comaroo never said any such thing to the Rajah.

Question 5. Were you near enough to hear distinctly all that passed between Comaroo and the Rajah?

Answer. I was so near the Rajah and Comaroo, that I could not but hear every thing that passed between them.

M I N U T E D.

THE Board are well satisfied, from the depositions of Kistnajee Pundit and Soobarow before the Mayor, as well as from the declarations of Comaroo, and their evidence in his favour, that what has been alledged against him by Lord Pigot, must have proceeded from unjust representations made to his Lordship by Moodoo Kistnah, his Lordship's Dubash, or his adherents. Comaroo, it appears, so far from forcing his way into the presence of the Rajah, was conducted to him by some of the Rajah's own servants, and kindly received; and, during the whole of his visit, confined his discourse to mere matters of compliment (as related by the above persons who accompanied him) without once touching upon business of any kind. And indeed, if it be remembered that business is never the subject of conversation at first visits in this country, it will seem very

very improbable, that Comaroo should break through so universal an established custom. In short, the Board cannot but be convinced, from what has now appeared before them, that Comaroo is *entirely innocent* of the charges lodged against him by Lord Pigot; for as he saw the Rajah, but once during the time he was at Tanjore, and as at that interview nothing further passed between them than words of compliment, it is impossible he could have spoke to or advised the Rajah in the manner set forth by his Lordship. The Board cannot therefore hesitate to declare, in justice to an *innocent and oppressed man*, that they deem the ignominious punishment inflicted on Comaroo by orders of Lord Pigot, in causing him to be publicly flogged, to be altogether unmerited on his part, and highly illegal on that of his Lordship; and the more particularly so, as his Lordship did not accuse him of any misdemeanors, or bring even a charge against him, till many days after his return from the Tanjore country. As to Comaroo's pretended declaration of *being supported by seven Members of the Council*, and of advising the Rajah *not to admit* an English garrison into his fort, although the Company's troops were then in it, and had been there for some time, these matters speak for themselves, and are therefore unworthy of remark.

Secret Department, Extract of Consultation, 7th August 1776.

COPY of RESOLUTIONS of COUNCIL at BENGAL.

1. RESOLVED, That the detaching an officer with a party of the Company's troops into the town of Arrialore, situated within the Nabob's dominions, the forcing away the Nabob's guards stationed there, and the seizing his officers and servants, with all his papers, public and private, and carrying them prisoners to Tanjore, were acts of hostility against the Nabob; that they were not necessary to carry the Company's Orders and intentions.

intentions into execution ; nor justified by their instructions for restoring the king of Tanjore.

2. RESOLVED, That the threat expressed by the President, personally to the Nabob, that he would station a guard at the Nabob's house, for the declared purpose of intercepting any communication between him, the Members of the Council, and other Europeans, his Majesty's subjects, was an invasion of the Nabob's rights, as an independent prince, and might justly alarm him for the safety of his person.

3. RESOLVED, That the forcible expulsion of the Nabob's agents and troops from certain districts of Marawer and Nulcoota, without any previous application to the Nabob, was an act of hostility against his Highness, unauthorized and unnecessary.

4. RESOLVED, That the President's declaration, That if the gates of Arrialore, or any other gates in the Payen-Ghaut, should be shut against the troops of the Company, when they asked admission by his authority, it would be an improper return to the man who had put his Highness in possession of them, implies a general denial of the Nabob's right to refuse admittance of the Company's troops into any of his forts or garrisons, and founds that denial on a supposed personal ingratitude to the President, not on a breach of the regard and friendship due to the Company, as if his Highness's obligation, for being put in possession of such forts and garrisons, was due to the President alone, in exclusion of the Company.

5. RESOLVED, That the President's declaration, That whenever the Nabob's business should be connected with the interest of the Company, he would always act as to him should appear proper, and make use of the Nabob's authority, was equivalent to an assumption to himself of all the powers vested in the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic.

6. RE-

6. RESOLVED, That these several acts and declarations, collectively and separately, are an infringement of the rights and powers inherent in, and dependent on his Highness's title, as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, in which character he is acknowledged by the Treaty of Paris. That they tend to reduce him to a mere nominal Nabob, and to alienate his mind from that faithful attachment to the English Company, of which they declare they have had long experience.

7. RESOLVED, That the Acts and declarations above recited, have a direct and immediate tendency to disturb the peace of the Carnatic, and are unwarranted and unjust.

8. RESOLVED, That this Board will support the rights of the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic against all such attempts in future; and that they will exert with effect the power vested in them by the Legislature, of superintending and controlling the Government of the Presidency of Madras, for the preservation of peace in the Carnatic.

Extracts from a Letter of Sir EDWARD HUGHES to the Earl of Rochford, dated 22d September, 1776.

Salisbury, Madras Road, the 22d day of Sept. 1776.

MY LORD,

ON occasions of the troubles in Government here, arising in a great degree from the differences in opinion about the affairs of Tanjore, I think it incumbent on me to acquaint your Lordship with my sentiments on the state of matters, and in a national light.

THE delivery of the country back to the Rajah, and in a manner it was done, tended to no one good national purpose. The Rajah, a most weak man, the favourer of the French, of Hyder Ally, and of the Marattas, to which

which last he stands in relationship with their Rüm Rajah, is a tributary of the Nabob of the Carnatic, who is the best friend and ally we have in India. The Rajah, for failure in his payment of that tribute, and for (even) collecting tribute in the Nabob's country, adjoining to Tanjore, as well as for his secret machinations against his Highness and the peace of the Carnatic, was dispossessed of power, after repeated fruitless attempts to put him right, and many several trials of patience. This measure, as I am told, had been agreed to by two Plenipotentiaries, and was ordered by the Court of Directors.

THE Rajah dislikes the English as much as he does the Nabob, and would throw himself into the arms of any other European nation, had he the opportunity. He had mortgaged parts of his country to the Danes, and to the Dutch, which the Nabob was obliged to buy off, under these circumstances, and from the vicinity of Tanjore to the Nabob's possessions, to Pondichery, and to Hyder (the enemy of the English, and friend of the French), who is now in motion, as are presumptively the French themselves, it was but ill judged to restore the Rajah to power, and the country, when an handsome Jaghire was his utmost wish. He is naturally indolent, and absorbed in effeminate pursuits; his ill-advisers it was who led him on to act as he did, and will do again by the same bad advice. Upon the whole, our interest would have been much strengthened, and our firm ally and friend, the Nabob of the Carnatic, gratified and served most essentially, by leaving the sovereignty and management of the country to him, and placing an English garrison in the fort of Tanjore, with a suitable provision made for the Rajah's maintenance. As to his Highness endeavouring to shake off his connection with us, nothing can be more foreign to his intention. All his words, all his actions, prove the contrary; but the truth of the matter is thus: Every Governor, every dignified or other servant of the Company, finds an interest in keeping the Nabob in hot water. One party draws against him, the Nabob calls to another for assistance; he has that assistance as long as suits their views, and then they change again. In short, my Lord, he sees no end to their avarice, he cannot gratify them all, and his mind is continually agitated, he has not a moment's

moment's peace. Were he not a steady friend, he would have flown off long ago, and a work of near thirty years had been shaken to the foundation. Some method should really be found out, to render his situation more comfortable. And I have reason to think the gentlemen of Fort William are so sensible of this, that they will think of some mode of relief for him. The eyes of all the Indian Princes are upon the treatment he has met with from us, respecting Tanjore; particularly, even the Nabob of the remote province of Owde has expressed his fears, that the treatment of the Nabob of the Carnatic arises from a national principle, tending to render them all nominal Nabobs. His Highness is worse off, with respect to Tanjore, than when the Rajah would neither pay him tribute, or desist from gathering that due to him from the neighbourhood of Tanjore, for now the Rajah acknowledges no dependence on him at all. This the Nabob has gained by a friendship of thirty years, and after having been complimented on reducing his rebellious subjects of Tanjore.

THE Nabob and his family are known to be humane and merciful, the latter almost to a fault. His son Ameer-ul Omrah, has governed under his Highness some time, as Subah of Trichinopoly, and never allowed a man's life to be taken away, though found guilty of faults deserving of it.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

having been commenced on reducing the numerous subjects of Tan-
 jore, for now the Rajah's subjects no longer pay him at all,
 but, on still contemplating that day to him from the neighbourhood of
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